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File No. 100-15657-1A

Date Received 7/18/69

From 

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

By 

To Be Returned ☐ Yes
☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes
☐ No

Description:

*Chicago 15 Defense Committee
Ledger 7/15/69*

July 15, 1969

Dear Colleagues:

Increasingly it becomes apparent that the foreign policies of the United States and the military posturing associated with them are inimical to the tendencies toward self determination of other peoples, notably in Latin America and Southeast Asia. Furthermore it is clear that these policies have operated to the detriment of domestic problems and have forced into jeopardy many individual freedoms of choice for our young people. For example, the Selective Service system promotes the concept of "channeling" young men, not only into the armed forces but indirectly into occupations which serve the "national interest". Possibly this situation would be tolerable were it not for the fact that an average of 1000 young American men have been dying monthly in Vietnam and that untold thousands (best estimates suggest approximately 200,000) have sustained injuries. Many of these wounds and crippling conditions are of an unspeakable nature and are permanent in their effects.

What are the options of the average citizen in attempting to stop this senseless slaughter? The so-called "normal channels" or usual "democratic processes" such as the ballot, the petition, the picket line and the march, etc. have woefully failed. A handful of legislators are speaking boldly on behalf of drastic measures to end the war but the influence of the military mentality prevails. The present administration in Washington seems no more creative in its approach to the situation than the previous administration despite the announced withdrawal of a token force of troops.

Vulnerable young men facing the draft and the likelihood of needless death or injury have been compelled into direct but non-violent action to counteract this eventuality. They have been supported in their efforts by many distinguished clergy, educators, and other professionals. The courageous action of the Milwaukee 14 last September was a landmark of symbolic speech which, without personal injury to any human, destroyed selective service files and disrupted the mechanism by which young men become chattel to serve the "national interest".

On May 25, 1969, another group of young people, thirteen men and two women - the CHICAGO 15 - in a masterful stroke magnificently dispatched 50,000 draft files and their duplicates in the Chicago office housing 32 selective service boards. The destruction was so severe that the operation of the boards will be severely hampered for many months but, again, the action did not cause the slightest injury to a single human. In fact, it is anticipated that the action will prevent the loss of many lives, particularly those from the poverty areas of southside Chicago, both black and white. It is the young poor who are most susceptible to the draft since they do not qualify for the deferment options of the more advantaged.

The purpose of this communication to you is to ask for some financial support for the CHICAGO 15 DEFENSE COMMITTEE. Obviously money is badly needed to offset legal fees and other costs pertaining to the dissemination of their message to the community at large. Any amount, however small, will be put to work to assist these magnificent young people. I know many members of this group personally and I will vouch for their worth as human beings and their commitment to the values which free men must espouse. These people are not "kooks" or "Commies" or "criminals" or any of the other epithets which are so easily hurled about. They are genuinely concerned individuals who have taken a prophetic action.

The State of Illinois has dropped its charges against the 15 but the Federal trial is scheduled for September 15. Will you please contribute something, anything, now to help defray expenses! Any amount will help. In return I will gladly send you a pin which you can wear or throw in your desk drawer. Please make checks payable to the Chicago 15 Defense Committee and mail it to me at . You may call me at for further information if you wish. Contributions will be confidential since many people prefer it that way.

Cordially,

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Chicago 15 Defense Committee

ROUTING SLIP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: ALL RESIDENT AGENTS May 23, 1968
FROM: SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-15657)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

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Attached hereto is a new counterintelligence program instituted by the Bureau which is self-explanatory.

All Resident Agents are requested to familiarize themselves with this program and submit suggestions to Special Agent [redacted] no later than 5/27/68.

6-10-68

1-Each Resident Agent
1-Milwaukee (100-15657)
RES/els
(25)

100-15657-2

Date
Classified
at MI
1-13-75

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 1456
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

17

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-04-2012

ROUTING SLIP

June 5, 1968

TO : ALL RESIDENT AGENTS AND SECURITY SQUAD
FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-15657)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter, 5/10/68, previously furnished
to all Resident Agents.

Attached hereto are additional instructions dated
5/23/68 and 5/29/68 which implement the instructions set forth
in Bureau letter, 5/10/68.

All Agents concerned with New Left activity are
expected to participate wholeheartedly in this very important
program.

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Submit recommendations to reach SA
no later than 6/10/68.

- 1 - 100-15657
- 1 - Each Resident Agent
- 1 - Each Security Squad Agent

RES/kaj
(29)

pk

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Date Classified
at MI

Classified By 7456

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

1-13-75

100-15657-⁵
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 5 1968
FBI - MILWAUKEE

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Best Copy Available

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Milwaukee (100-15657) (P)

DATE: 6/10/68

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FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reference is made to Bulets to Albany, 5/10/68, 5/23/68, and 5/29/68, concerning captioned program.

Pertaining to possible counterintelligence activities at Madison, Wisconsin, matters were discussed during an Agent's conference in Milwaukee, 6/5/68. In accordance with matters discussed at this conference, the following is set forth:

The student ~~XXXXXXXX~~ underground newspaper, "Connections," edited by [REDACTED] with offices at 217 South Hamilton St., Madison, is published on a periodic basis in Madison. Most of the individuals who write for this publication are students or have some connection with the University of Wisconsin (U. of W.), Madison. [REDACTED] at U. of W.

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"Connections" is sold in the U. of W. Student Union Bldg., Madison, and throughout the campus on the first day or two after an edition comes out. Most issues are profane and appear to border on the obscene, looking for a "shock affect" by use of four-letter words and suggestive drawings and photographs.

It should also be noted that students who write for "Connections" are almost always activists or leaders in the U. of W. "New Left" movement. Perhaps selective distribution of profane or obscene editions to responsible Wisconsin state legislators and individuals connected with ~~inst~~ institutions of higher learning would eventually lead to ~~tighter restrictions~~ closer scrutiny of "New Left" activities by leading citizens.

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In effort to explore the possibility for counterintelligence at U. of W., Madison, by use of "Connections" mentioned above, SA [REDACTED] will do the following at Madison:

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5010-108-01

Date Classified
at MI 75
1-13-75

Classified by 1156
Exempt from GDS

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-15657-8

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - MILWAUKEE	

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1. ~~Sumner~~ Contact [redacted] source
of the Madison RA, [redacted]
[redacted]: ascertain from [redacted] identities of [redacted]
[redacted] at Wisconsin university
education level; and, note the identities from [redacted] of
[redacted] of Wisconsin State University (WSU) extensions.

2. ~~Exa~~ Note further counterintelligence potential
at U. of W. ~~xxxxxx~~

"Connections" is subject of MI file, 100-15184,
which is in an pending status. Initial pending report was
submitted, 5/16/68, setting forth all investigation con-
ducted to that date. This report is serial 43 in ~~xxxx~~ file.

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THE STUDENT NEW LEFT - A THREAT TO DEMOCRATIC LAW AND ORDER

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Date Classified at MI
1-13-25

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Date of Review Indefinite

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THE STUDENT NEW LEFT - A THREAT TO DEMOCRATIC LAW AND ORDER

BACKGROUND OF NEW LEFT:

In recent months, great publicity has been accorded the so-called Student New Left. One writer comments: "...the New Left has so captured the attention of the nation as to merit hundreds of articles in the news media, and to initiate a broad range of speculation about its future role in our society." "What is the uproar on American college campuses all about? What is the New Left?" asked the editor of a large metropolitan daily newspaper. He sent a reporter to visit campuses throughout the country to find out.

The Student New Left is many-sided. A common denominator would be difficult to find. It is political theory, sociology and bitter protest. It is linked with civil rights, the fight against poverty, the American war in Vietnam. It involves students, faculty members, writers, intellectuals, Beatniks. Many of its adherents dress in wildly nonconformist style - sandals, beat-up trousers and dresses, with beards and long hair - which sometimes defies the outward visual determination of the sex of the person involved. For some, morality is "bourgeois" and "old fashioned,"

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with the New Leftist making his or her own personal interpretation of what is right or wrong.

A key ingredient of the New Left, however, is expressed in the word "alienation." The exact meaning of this word is not always clear, but to the New Leftist it signifies bitter protest against what he calls "the Establishment," the "power structure," the "military-industrial complex." "The young people of 'the movement,'" writes one of its spokesmen, "make no polite protest; they rage against the war (Vietnam) because they see it as the embodiment of all they are fighting in American society. It is a product of 'the system' from which they are alienated."

The mood of the New Left - as, for example, of one of its primary spokesmen, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) - is one of disillusionment, pessimism and alienation. Actually, there are strong nihilistic, anarchistic strains, that our democratic society is decadent, that bourgeois moral values are outmoded. At the center of the movement is an almost passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down. They hate our free society, the concepts of law and order, the progress this country has made. "Among the central questions that a radical ideology must attempt to answer are: What are the fundamental changes needed to transform society, and what are the steps that radicals can take to help bring these about?" a New Left spokesman has asked.

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These steps have included defiance of the law, civil disobedience and disparagement of the American heritage.

When the New Leftists speak of a "new society," however, their comments fade into misty generalizations. They have little to offer in terms of practical suggestions applicable to the everyday problems of society. Their accent is on the negative, not the positive.

HEAVY COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN NEW LEFT:

For that reason, the New Left finds itself heavily infiltrated today by the communists. This communist attack is coming from three directions. First, and foremost, are the Communist Party, USA, and its youth organization, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs. This is the pro-Moscow faction. Then there are the Socialist Workers Party and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Trotskyite wing of communism. In addition, there are the pro-Chinese communists, the Progressive Labor Party.

These communists - masters of organizational plans and techniques - are exploiting the Student New Left for their own partisan reasons. The communists see in this movement an opportunity to gain access to college campuses, to reach the minds of students and faculty members and to gain an aura of respectability.

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No wonder the communists, especially the Communist Party, USA, have been devoting so much time, effort and attention to the college campus. They are reaping untold benefits.

SPECIFIC ANTI-DEMOCRATIC DAGGERS OF THE NEW LEFT:

A grave danger exists that the general public, in viewing the New Left, will dismiss the movement with the comment, "A bunch of harmless kids," or "some more college foolishness." This would be a serious misinterpretation. The New Left, despite its seeming innocence and impracticability, contains an arsenal of poison-tipped daggers - each of which is aimed at the destruction of our democratic way of life.

The citizen may see the New Left strictly in terms of demonstrations, protest marches, petition campaigns and placards. And as recent demonstrations, such as the April 15 anti-Vietnam rallies in New York City and San Francisco, have shown, the New Left and its followers can mobilize large numbers, drum up nationwide attention and publicity and make bitter and violent accusations.

But attention must be focused on the specific anti-democratic daggers of the New Left - and what they mean for our society.

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Attacks Against the Legitimate Presence of Representatives
of Business Firms on College Campuses

Today, more than ever, American industry and the college campus are being linked together. The college graduate, especially in the scientific field, provides a steady flow of potential employees for industry. On a regular basis, for example, many business companies send representatives to the campus to interview prospective employees. These interviews not only aid the firms involved, but also perform a distinct service to the students. Often the college will provide physical facilities (such as rooms) where the interviews can take place.

Industry is interested in education in many other ways - in the scientific accomplishments of its research, in its professors, in the work they are doing. Increasingly, American business is providing financial aid to university-level education - with benefit both to the schools and industry.

The New Left wishes to undermine this relationship. It attacks industry (especially "big industry") as part of the "Pentagon complex" which is establishing the current policies of Government which the New Left so vehemently dislikes. Especially, their attack has been directed against firms which are manufacturing material being used in the Vietnam war effort.

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In recent weeks, nationwide publicity, for example, has occurred relative to the New Left's bitter opposition against Dow Chemical Company. Dow Chemical, they assert, is the nation's major manufacturer of the napalm being used by American forces in the war.

On February 28, 1967, a student demonstration, sponsored by New Left elements, occurred at Old Dominion College, Norfolk, Virginia. Some 13 to 15 students picketed in front of the Student Center while Dow Chemical representatives were conducting job interviews. The demonstration was peaceful. The participants passed out anti-Dow, anti-Vietnam war literature. One of the printed sheets contained a picture of two burned corpses with these words underneath: "Napalm Did This: Dow Chemical Company, the Makers of Saran Wrap, Manufactures Napalm." Placards displayed included such statements as: "We are Responsible"; "Dow Creates a World of Destruction"; "Does Big Business Have a Conscience?"

A much larger anti-Dow demonstration occurred at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Wisconsin. The student paper, "The Daily Cardinal," (February 16, 1967), headlined "SDS to Block Chemical Company Interviewing." The article explained that a "massive sit-in" against Dow Chemical interviews on the campus was being planned by SDS. "The group plans to block

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completely all entrances to the rooms where interviews with prospective employees are being held next week." Purpose of the sit-ins, the article stated, was to stop Dow recruitment of students as employees.

On February 21, 1967, the demonstration and sit-in occurred. Demonstrators entered the Commerce Building and started sitting down with signs and passing out literature. The demonstrators stayed the rest of the afternoon. On February 23, the anti-Dow group carried on a non-obstructive sit-in for three and one-half hours near a Dow Chemical interview room in the Agricultural Hall. A number of students were arrested for disorderly conduct during the Dow visit. The incident was reported nationally by news media. The University President was blockaded in a campus office for hours by about 200 angry students who demanded that charges against those arrested be dropped.

The Wisconsin faculty reportedly adopted a resolution setting up a meeting to review University policies on allowing employers to come to the campus to interview students.

Here is part of the New Left attack. If, by demonstrations and agitation, it can stir up hostility to business firms being on the campus at all, it will have achieved some of its goals. The New Left tactics are designed to harass and hinder the orderly operation of

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business as well as create turmoil at the University.

Still another anti-Dow demonstration took place in mid-February, 1967, at Pennsylvania State University. Here SDS students walked into the room being occupied by Dow representatives and said they wanted to discuss the "moral issue of the Vietnam War." This was a harassment technique. Outside the building, a group of some thirty students carried signs which criticized Dow's contribution to the United States effort in Vietnam. As a sidelight, it might be mentioned that classified ads were placed in the "Daily Collegian," student paper (apparently by New Left people), which criticized Dow Chemical. Some of the ads read, for example:

"NAPALM INDISCRIMINATE and effective killer of innocent Vietnamese. Inquire Dow Chemical Company."

"THE MOST POPULAR bomb in Vietnam is Napalm because it's 'both cheap and deadly.' Dow makes Napalm."

In addition to campus demonstrations, New Leftist students and sympathizers have picketed industrial plants manufacturing war materials. Not only Dow Chemical but other companies have been objects of demonstrations.

More and more SDS leaders and members are becoming hostile to the presence of business firms on the campus. To these students, these individuals are representatives of the

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"Establishment" which must be destroyed. If this trend continues and expands, American business can expect great trouble in years ahead.

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Protests Against Military-Related Research on Campuses

The New Left has developed highly vocal campaigns against military-type research by universities and colleges. These protests have been chiefly in the form of demonstrations and picketing.

For example, last October 18th, at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia such a demonstration was held. The protest was against alleged "germ warfare research" being carried out at the University. A picket line of some 50 people formed in front of College Hall. Sponsors of the demonstration were: The University of Pennsylvania Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Students for a Democratic Society; Americans for Democratic Action and the Young Socialist Alliance. Pickets carried signs protesting the war in Vietnam and chemical and biological germ warfare research conducted by the University. Some of the signs read: "Stop Cyanide Experiment at Vietnam and at Penn"; "No Genocide Research for Vietnam"; "No More Genocide Research." The demonstration was peaceful.

In a pamphlet handed out during the demonstration this comment was made:

"We cannot condone our university aiding a war of genocide in Vietnam. We demand that the biological and chemical warfare research be ended immediately."

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The previous week, on October 11th, another "anti-germ rally" was held at the University of Pennsylvania. At this rally a table with literature was set up. Among literature given out were material from the Young Socialist Alliance and reprints from Ramparts Magazine pertaining to germ warfare research at the University. New Left elements frequently make use of articles in Ramparts for the advancement of their agitation.

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Hostility toward Any Form of Military or Armed Forces'
Activity on Campuses

An essential ingredient of the New Left is bitter hostility against "things military," that is, any activity of the Armed Forces. The New Leftists view the military as an agency of the "Establishment" they wish to destroy. This hostility is heightened by the Vietnam War in which the draft and military service are matters of deep personal concern to students.

For this reason, New Left hostility has manifested itself against the presence of military recruitment teams on the campus, ROTC units, the draft, military parades and drills and even the holding of military-sponsored social functions.

There are many examples from all areas of the country.

On February 20, 1967, some 80 students participated in a silent protest demonstration at Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California, against the visit to the campus of Lieutenant General James C. Richardson, Commander of the United States Sixth Army. The General reviewed an ROTC drill on the campus and awarded medals to two Vietnam veterans. The group marched silently around the football field carrying placards for about fifteen minutes. There were no incidents.

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The protest was staged by an Ad Hoc Committee which issued this statement of policy (which summarizes the New Left's point of view towards the ROTC):

 "Our principal concern, and the one which we wish to dramatize by the silent protest of February 20 is that a branch of the United States Army should be so closely affiliated with an independent institution of higher learning. ROTC, as it is now constituted, has no place in the college curriculum. If Military Science is to be presented to college students, then it must be presented in a form which does not insult their ability as students to evaluate material and formulate their own beliefs. If Military Science must be as dogmatic and uncompromising as it is in the present ROTC program, then it cannot be allowed to remain in a liberal arts college. We realize that reasons for objecting to ROTC on campus are many and varied and we thus welcome the support of anyone who wishes to express a legitimate point of disagreement."

In March, 1966, the local chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society at the University of California at Santa Barbara planned to picket the regular ROTC class on the campus drill ground at 7:30 a.m. on March 31, 1966. The picket line was carried off as scheduled on March 31st. Actually, because of the early hour, only three SDS members showed up. Yet the New Left gained what it wanted, as a local TV station had a news team present giving the type of publicity which SDS seeks!

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On May 18, 1966, some 26 students at Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana, staged a demonstration at the University President's Review of the Army, Air Force and Navy ROTC units of the school. The demonstrators carried placards expressing sentiments that the war in Vietnam was immoral and that American boys were being sent to slaughter. The demonstrators originally desired to march on the drill field but permission was denied.

When recruiting teams from the Armed Services come to the campus; the New Left often will mount a hostile demonstration. Part of the New Left's aim is publicity - it wants to attract the attention of other students, to create "incidents," to embarrass members of the military and the University. Its basic "anti" attitude toward society - that it seeks to tear down whatever exists - means that it is always looking for something which it can exploit.

On January 11, 1967, for example, the Students for a Democratic Society conducted a demonstration at the Student Union Building, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, to protest the presence of Navy and Marine Corps recruiters on the campus. Considerable publicity resulted from this incident.

Sometimes the demonstrations aimed at military recruiters take more menacing forms. On February 13, 1967, approximately 200 students at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio,

staged a sit-in and formed a human chain around a United States Air Force recruiting booth set up in the student union in Wilder Hall. This human chain prevented interested students from contacting the Air Force recruiters.

This technique - of preventing students who might have been interested in talking to the recruiters - is symptomatic of a basic prevailing trait of the Student New Left: namely, an intolerance for other points of view. This intolerance also manifests itself in other activities of the New Left.

In a prepared statement at Oberlin, the demonstrating group asserted:

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"Our demonstration protests the war in Vietnam and by preventing Air Force recruitment on campus, we hope to symbolically impede one of the most important instruments of the war... We intend to block any future effort at recruitment by military agents on campus. Hopefully, representatives of the Armed Forces on campus will make our position clear to their commanding officers."

Another attempt to prevent military recruiters from meeting students occurred at the State University College, New Paltz, New York, in December, 1966. An Ad Hoc Committee sponsored by the New Paltz Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam sponsored a demonstration to protest a team of United States Marine Corps recruiters and a United States Army Information and

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Selection Team on the campus.

This Committee distributed literature opposing United States intervention in the Vietnam War on December 6 and 7, 1966, in the lobby of the College Union Building on the campus.

On December 8th, when the military recruiting teams were scheduled to arrive, the full demonstration began. At 9:45 a.m., 15 to 20 members of the Ad Hoc Committee carried signs into the College Union Building. The military personnel arrived about five minutes later. The demonstrators (their maximum number was roughly 30) pressed around the tables manned by the military, concealing the recruiters behind the signs, and preventing any interested students from conversing with them. In addition, there was guitar music and the demonstrators sang freedom songs. Among the slogans on the signs were the following: "War is Good for Business - Invest Your Son"; "Germany in the 40's. America in the 60's"; "Negotiate, Don't Escalate."

Many times pro-Vietnam and pro-military students counter-demonstrate. In one instance, New Left forces received a reception they didn't anticipate. At the University of Oklahoma (January 5, 1967) angry students booted some ten members of the

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Students for a Democratic Society out of the Student Union Lobby.

Trouble began when SDS members manned a booth in the building protesting the American role in Vietnam. The SDS students had erected signs saying it should be a war crime to enlist - which signs were aimed at a nearby United States Navy recruiting booth.

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Student Protests and Demonstrations Off Campus at Military and Industrial Facilities and the Use of Civil Disobedience

Just to protest on the campus itself is not enough.

The New Left has used the campus as a mobilization center from which to launch protests and demonstrations against military bases and industrial facilities. This technique has led to "marches" from the campus to nearby Army, Navy or Air Force bases or companies manufacturing war material. On occasions, these demonstrations have led to civil disobedience.

To prepare these demonstrations, the New Left mounts an on-campus agitation campaign. Often placards and signs are displayed, calling for students to rally for the "march." The thrill of participation leads many students (urged on by DuBois and other communist elements) to support the endeavor.

Last November, the Students for a Democratic Society at San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, California, a suburb of Los Angeles, planned a demonstration protesting United States policy in Vietnam at the California Air National Guard facility in the Van Nuys area of Los Angeles. Assistance was to be obtained from the Vietnam Day Committee at the University of California at Los Angeles. Protest leaders indicated they would ask permission from military authorities to enter the base and talk to the

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"According to [redacted] at San Fernando Valley State College, one of those [redacted] attended several meetings at the University where plans were laid for the demonstration and expected arrest of some participants.

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"Four of the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators, all students, were found guilty shortly before noon by a jury... of trespassing on military property."
(The fifth student was Arond).

Another Los Angeles news article indicated that Arond testified that the five arrested students were members of Students for a Democratic Society.

One of the major daggers of the New Left is civil disobedience. Here is a typical example of an SDS operation - of deliberately violating the law. The participants obviously were given instructions in how to behave (or misbehave). The five arrested students knew what they were doing - and the risks involved. They also knew that a professor (who obviously was in sympathy with their aims and methods) would provide money for bail. In other words, here was a deliberate attempt to violate the law. "They held meetings before the demonstration," the paper quoted [redacted] testimony, "to make plans... and agreed that if they were not allowed on the base to distribute antiwar leaflets, those who wanted to would lie down on the driveway." "We knew we would be arrested... We were quite sure we would not be allowed on the base."

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In a newspaper interview, [] was quoted as saying that he "would bail out any student who got arrested in civil disobedience to an illegal, immoral and unjust war." The presiding judge commented that the students had a right to dissent, but not to break the law.

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Very interestingly, [] was quite upset that one of the arrested students [] served [] at the trial. "It sort of hurt me to think that students would testify against students," he said. "It seems to me that this is not the American way to play the game." These are revealing comments from an individual who had encouraged and supported students to deliberately break the law. He added that the prosecution's use of one student to testify against the others is "characteristic of totalitarian countries and I find it un-American."

Civil disobedience has run through the Student New Left movement - the blocking of traffic, lying down in doorways, the invading of military installations and private property. If such a philosophy becomes pronounced - the idea that you don't have to obey a law you dislike or think wrong or immoral - American democratic institutions will disintegrate. The way to approach a law you do not like is to have it legally repealed - not to disobey it yourself or encourage others to do the same. Law and order must remain the bastions of any free society.

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Many other examples could be cited of off-campus demonstrations. In April, 1966, students from Monmouth College, West Long Branch, New Jersey, marched from the school to Fort Monmouth to protest. In January, 1967, SDS members picketed in front of the induction center at Fort Holabird, Baltimore, Maryland.

In Mason, Michigan, a judge ordered four youths to serve jail terms (March, 1966) after upholding convictions resulting from an anti-Vietnam war demonstration.

"I can't go along with the theory that the protester, in all instances, must have or does take precedence over the rights of others," the judge declared. The four had been convicted in Lansing Township Justice Court of trespassing while they passed out leaflets opposing the war at a Marine Corps exhibit on the Michigan State University campus the previous October.

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Disparagement of National Leaders - An Attempt to Discredit
Democratic Values

A favorite tactic of the New Left is the disparagement of America's national leaders. Examples abound almost without end of violent and disrespectful remarks against the President of the United States, the Vice President, ranking Government officials, the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Congressional leaders and others.

Not only are these leaders verbally castigated (and written about) in bitter, vitriolic and shameful language, but they are "hooted" and "derided" in person when they give speeches or make public appearances.

The whole purpose seems to be to derogate their positions as national leaders, to create the impression that they are "murderers," unworthy of respect and actually enemies of the people. Seldom in our history has such a crescendo of vituperative cant and hatred been directed against Government officials.

Especially serious is the fact that this bitterness arises from within the intellectual community where tolerance and understanding should be paramount.

Last September, President Johnson visited Detroit to deliver a speech. The Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam staged a demonstration in front of Cobo Hall where the President spoke.

They carried placards reading "End the War in Vietnam"; "Bring the Troops Home"; and "Get Out of Vietnam." When Mr. Johnson started to speak, the demonstration ceased and the demonstrators moved into Cobo Hall. At the beginning of the President's speech, there was loud shouting and yelling from the rear of the hall where various demonstrators began yelling anti-Vietnam slogans. These demonstrators were ejected from the hall by guards.

In Honolulu (October, 1966), members of the Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam met at Crawford Hall, University of Hawaii, to discuss plans for picketing President Johnson. After some argument, it was decided that members could carry protest signs denouncing the President as "Murderer" and "Killer."

On October 17, a group of students and faculty members arrived at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, where Mr. Johnson was scheduled to speak. By the time the President arrived, the group numbered about 50. They unfurled a large banner reading, "You Are the Aggressor." They also were carrying two large bamboo poles from which two life-sized figures hung in effigy - one in the uniform of an American soldier bearing the sign "Pentagon" and the other in cowboy clothing with the initials on the face "LBJ." The demonstrators kept their signs and banners aloft during the President's speech. Three of the demonstrators were arrested.

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The bad taste of some of the signs is reflected in these slogans: "LBJ Heading for the Last Roundup"; "Our Vietnamalady is Pentagonorrhea"; "LBJ Murders my Asian Brothers"; "LBJ Beautify our Country - Don't Come Back": "LBJ Go Away."

In January, 1967, the "News-Leader," the student publication of Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore), ran a poll for "Man of the Year for 1966." According to the editors, "the Man of the Year for 1966 obviously has to be one of this year's famous mass murderers." One of the candidates was President Johnson who was characterized in these words:

"Last year's top mass murderer was a Texas plowboy who has come a long way in the American crime business. Lyndon Baines Johnson of Johnson City, Texas, graduated from his humble origins of torturing half caste Indians... to the American Presidency where he killed John F. Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald, Jack Ruby and thirteen other people whose names have been withheld by request. Johnson, an easy going ex-school teacher whose hobby is bombing defenseless people, culminated a remarkable five years when on December 25 he told Jack Ruby to suddenly die of cancer."

To show how a demonstration against the President is planned on a college campus, the following notice appeared on a bulletin board at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, relative to a visit of Mr. Johnson to nearby Dayton, Ohio, in September, 1966. Sponsored by the Antioch Committee to End the War in Vietnam and

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the Students for a Democratic Society, the notice read:

"President Johnson is coming to Dayton Monday Sept. 5 (Labor Day) to speak at the Montgomery County Fair...It is extremely important that Johnson's illusionary consensus be dramatically and publicly challenged as often as possible. The unpopularity of the Vietnam war - one of the least popular wars in history - has, in fact, been stimulated and maintained by such public challenges. There is a need, therefore, for as many people as possible to confront Johnson on Monday afternoon.

"Realistically, any demonstration before an American President contains the possibilities of physical violence and arrest. There will be a meeting in North Hall Common Room (Antioch College) Sunday evening, Sept. 4 at 7:30 PM to discuss the types of action to be carried out, discipline, transportation, and the availability of legal assistance and bail money (in case such contingencies are necessary). It is essential anyone intending to take part in Monday's demonstration attend this meeting."

The mention of "violence," "arrest" and "bail money" indicates the extent to which these students are willing to go to vilify the President.

The Vice President of the United States - a frequent speaker throughout the country - has been pilloried time after time by the New Left.

In October, 1966, for example, Humphrey was picketed when he spoke at the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. The same thing happened at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey (September 22, 1966), when the Vice President spoke at

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a convocation marking the University's 200th anniversary. Some 35 pickets representing Women Strike for Peace and Students for a Democratic Society carried signs and placards protesting United States intervention in the Vietnam War. One of the signs read, "Humphrey - Killer Hawk," while another said, "Support Your Vice Assassinator." Still another one was captioned "Blood Finger Johnson," which bore the likeness of the President holding a machine gun.

One of the worst incidents involving the Vice President occurred in February, 1967, at Stanford University. Some 300 demonstrators rushed at Humphrey as he went to his limousine after participating in a student forum. The mob, however, failed to reach the Vice President because of stout Secret Service and local police protection. When Humphrey reached his car, the mob of young men and women surged to the vehicle. They banged on the windows and doors with their fists, screaming, "Shame," "Shame." Secret Service agents ran ahead of the car, shoving demonstrators out of the way. Several students grappled with protecting agents. Some of the demonstrators called the Vice President a "war criminal."

Secretary of Defense McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk have frequently been picketed during their public appearances. For example, a convocation was held at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio,

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on December 2, 1966, honoring U.S. Representative Wayne Hays.

The main address was given by Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

On December 1st and 2nd a silent two-day peace vigil urging re-examination of American policy in Vietnam was held at the University, sponsored by the Athens Chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society. A group of some 25 students marched from the War Memorial on the main campus to the convocation site at Grover Center. University police officers met the youths at the door and said the students could enter, but the signs must stay outside. The students agreed to this procedure and no incidents occurred. When Mr. Rusk was introduced, a single "boo" comment was heard from the audience.

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Intolerance to Dissent - An Incipient Totalitarianism

Strange as it may sound, the New Left - which prides itself on dissent - is marked by strong elements of intolerance toward views other than its own. In fact, this vehemence of intolerance almost borders on an incipient totalitarianism, a characteristic contrary to all principles of American academic life.

New Left student intolerance takes many forms. For example, prominent individuals are heckled during their speeches, or even prevented from speaking at all by unruly and disorderly tactics. Students walk out of an auditorium while a speech is in progress and, as in the case of Vice President Humphrey at Stanford University, physical attacks were directed towards his person.

Examples of New Left intolerance are many. On March 24, 1967, Secretary of State Dean Rusk was heckled when he spoke to an audience of 2,000 at Cornell University. He was interrupted almost a dozen times by about 50 persons in the audience who wore skeleton Halloween masks. Some 250 demonstrators, many bearded and long-haired, attempted to enter the hall after it was filled, but were turned back by police.

In November, 1966, General Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke at Pembroke College, Providence, Rhode Island. After the speech, a group of students charged the platform

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in an apparent attempt to reach General Wheeler. Police and student ushers blocked the students' path and started trading punches with the demonstrators, while more police quickly ushered Wheeler out a side entrance of the building. During the struggle, according to news accounts, the speaker's podium was knocked over and several students were pushed from the stage by the police. A Brown University graduate student was arrested.

Midway through the speech, some 60 students walked out of the hall in protest. Some of the remaining ones heckled General Wheeler. One news service reported that after Wheeler finished, some demonstrators grabbed the microphone and yelled "Murderer," "Traitor," "Draw and quarter him."

Perhaps the best publicized incident of this type was the jeering and heckling of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara recently at Harvard. In February, 1967, more than 500 Harvard and Radcliffe students staged an hour demonstration against Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg. The SDS planned the affair, but other New Leftist elements joined. General Lewis B. Hershey has repeatedly been the target of New Left intolerance. Recently, extremist student elements, through boisterous and unruly acts, actually prevented him from delivering a talk at Howard University in Washington, D. C.

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At San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, California, Vice President Humphrey was heckled by demonstrators.

At one point the Vice President stopped his speech and remarked to the hecklers, "One of the things college is supposed to teach you is manners. A number of you appear to have flunked that course."

At Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, some 55 students left their seats and walked out when Mr. Humphrey began to speak. They joined pickets demonstrating outside. At Stanford University (when Mr. Humphrey's car was attacked by angry students), some 100 people walked out of the University's Memorial Auditorium during the Vice President's speech. When his speech was completed, another group of approximately 100 left the auditorium at the beginning of a question and answer session.

This New Left intellectual intolerance has brought a number of condemnations. For example, on April 16, 1967, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attacked student demonstrations which infringe on the rights of non-participants. The ACLU specifically mentioned the protests against General Hershey at Howard University and Secretary McNamara at Harvard and another incident which prevented job interviews. "In light of recent occurrences on some college campuses," the statement said, "the American Civil Liberties

Union considers it important to emphasize that it does not approve of demonstrators who deprive others of the opportunity to speak or be heard, or physically obstruct movement, or otherwise disrupt the legitimate educational or institutional processes." Such actions, the ACLU said, threatened the academic freedom of others, and students using such tactics "must accept responsibility for their action."

This intolerance is a prime danger in the student community today. It forebodes evil for our democratic system of government. It is a Hitler or Stalin way of approaching the issues of the day. The very fact that it is occurring among students, who should be willing to consider many viewpoints, is a disturbing matter.

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Attacks Against Military Service and Especially the Draft

A prime target of the New Left, especially the Students for a Democratic Society, has been the Selective Service System.

Not only do the draft and military service, in the eyes of the New Left, smack of the "old system," but they are the backbone of America's military effort in Vietnam. For these reasons, in every conceivable way, the New Left has endeavored to protest and demonstrate against the draft - even going to the extent of counseling students on how to avoid military service. Some extremist elements of the New Left have torn up or burned their draft cards (usually at a public rally so as to gain publicity). They have also been involved in civil disobedience protests. In this area, the New Left has received support from pacifist and some religious groups.

In early April, 1967, a National Conference on the Draft, meeting in St. Louis, signed a petition supporting draft card burnings, the refusal to pay income taxes and military desertion. The signatories also supported emigration to Canada by draft eligible youth. The anti-draft stance of the Students for a Democratic Society was reflected in the April 15, 1967, anti-Vietnam rally in New York City. At the program held at the United Nations Plaza during this rally (with attendance estimated at between 100,000 to 125,000),

[redacted] urged his listeners to join in support of

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the movement for peace "like the 75 who burned their draft cards today." He asserted: "Refuse to go to war and join us in acts of disobedience if the war continues."

At a recent meeting (December, 1966) of the National Council of the SDS at the University of California at Berkeley, SDS's attitude toward the draft was discussed in great detail. [redacted]

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[redacted] at the University of Nebraska, proposed the formation of "antidraft unions." He felt that a small percentage of youths of draft age, perhaps three percent, if properly organized, could interrupt operations at local draft boards and induction centers. He explained that 20 or 30 youths could accompany a draft objector to his draft board, where they would protest and harass Selective Service officials.

At this meeting, the SDS discussed how the universities could be transformed so as to eliminate grades - and thereby create problems for draft boards inasmuch as grades made by a student played a vital role in determining whether he would or would not be drafted.

The National Council overwhelmingly voted to re-affirm SDS opposition to the draft. Just what tactics SDS uses to oppose the draft, however, depends on the individual chapters, inasmuch as SDS is a loosely knit organization, with little central control. It is up to

the separate units as to what should be done in local areas. It is known, however, that SDS is providing information and assistance to young people who want to go to Canada to avoid the draft. It counsels young men on how to harass draft officials. It also seeks to furnish literature to members of the Armed Forces opposing the Vietnam war.

Just how can draft boards be harassed by students opposing the draft? An article in "New Left Notes" (organ of SDS) on February 3, 1967, set forth some ideas. It might be called a "Catalogue of How to Harass Draft Officials." Here are some of the points:

- 
- send items to your draft board to be put into your file (as they are supposed to keep these), such as a copy of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" or Mao's "Military Writings." "One person on the West Coast expropriated several hundred Gideon Bibles, and sent one to his board each day for six months."
 - "You are supposed to notify your board of any change in your physical condition so you might wish to send them a postcard each day telling them that you had sneezed the night before."
 - go to the board and demand to see your file. "Under most circumstances, there is nothing to prevent you from absconding with all or part of your file, or, possibly inserting new data."
 - send a weekly note to your board saying you lost your draft card and need a new one.

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- go to City Hall, secure names of infant deaths and then register for the draft under these false names. "The fun ensues when this mythical person does not respond to any mail, and fails to report for a physical or induction. Ultimately, federal agents will spend much time attempting to track down people who do not exist."
- prior to a physical exam, go to a private doctor and complain of ulcerous symptoms. If an X-ray is needed, "take some peanut butter, roll it into a ball 1/4 inch in diameter, and leave it out to harden overnight. The next day, swallow it just a few minutes before the X-ray. It will show up in your stomach as a duodenal ulcer."
- during an official draft board physical, "keep a straight pin on the inside of your shorts, and prick your finger lightly when asked for a urine sample, so that a drop of blood becomes mixed with your urine, which would look very much like kidney trouble."
- don't forget the possibilities of "feigned insanity."

Over recent months, there have been many "sit-ins" at draft boards, as well as other types of demonstrations. On October 27, 1966, for example, a group of ten to twelve women came into the State Selective Service Headquarters in Austin, Texas. They read a petition protesting the draft and sat down in the aisleway. They reportedly were members of SDS. The group left peacefully and no trouble ensued. In several universities a "We Won't Go" movement has been started. This means that students signify that they will not be drafted for the Vietnam War.

At Princeton University, a full-page advertisement appeared on April 14, 1967, in the student paper, signed by 66 students

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who said they would not fight in Vietnam. A similar ad, signed by 33 students, appeared in the Michigan State University paper.

Part of the New Left anti-draft stance has been demonstrations against General Lewis B. Hershey, National Director of Selective Service. General Hershey has frequently been picketed and made the target of malicious catcalls and criticism by New Left students. At Howard University in Washington, D. C., a rebellious student audience even prevented him from speaking. Subsequently, he was burned in effigy (April 19, 1967) on the Howard campus. According to news accounts, scores of Howard students chanted "Burn, baby, burn" as an effigy of General Hershey was set afire at a campus rally.

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Attempts to Influence the Policies of Institutions of Higher Education
and to Transform the Nature of the University

Inherent in the New Left movement is a bitter attack against American higher education - its policies, procedures and goals. In fact, the very nature of the University, in its traditional approach toward education, is under strong assault. The pressure of the New Left has become so intense that in some schools (such as the University of California at Berkeley) riots and violent demonstrations have occurred. In others, there have been sit-ins and other forms of harassment. As a result, a number of top educational authorities, such as President Wilson Elkins of the University of Maryland, have felt compelled to speak out against New Left tactics.

The attack against the University arises from the New Left's basic distrust of established society - namely, its belief that the University is part of the "power structure," that it reflects the values of a "decadent" society. "In the Administrative Republic of America," writes one New Leftist, "the primary structure encountered by living beings is the bureaucracy. It takes various forms: educational (high schools, universities, etc.), economic (corporations), military, governmental (agencies, departments, etc.) and even ideological (religious institutions, academic, etc.)."

A key figure in the New Left's demand for university

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reform is [] An article
by [] entitled "A Student Syndicalist Movement: University
Reform Revisited" ("New Left Notes," September 9, 1966) has been
widely discussed in New Left circles.

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In this article, [] charges that universities must
be reformed because they are part of the "corporate liberal society."
"Our educational institutions are corporations and knowledge factories."
They produce conformist, pliable students for our "dehumanized,"
"oppressive" system. [] urges students to become more militant.
"Obviously, we need to organize, to build a movement on the campuses
with the primary purpose of radically transforming the university
community."

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Specially, [] suggests the creation of a student
syndicalist movement. This type of organization would have as a basic
purpose "student power" - a favorite New Left slogan. "What we do
want is a union of students where the students themselves decide what
kind of rules they want or don't want. Or whether they need rules at
all."

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A primary aim of student control would be the abolition
of the grade system, according to [] Here is an issue, he
says, which concerns every student and faculty member, and hence
an issue which can be radically inflamed by SDS agitation. Moreover,
such demands "cannot be met by the administration without radically

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altering the shape and purpose of our educational system." In other words, agitation concerning abolition of the grade system, in New Left eyes, is a weapon to disrupt and transform the normal operations of the traditional University system.

Another compelling New Left reason for demanding abolition of the grading system is that grades play a role in determining whether a male student is or is not to be drafted. Or as [] says: "Finally, the Selective Service would have a hell of a time ranking us."

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Other specific forms of "student power" advocated by [] include, for example:

- constant harassment and disruption of meetings of the existing student government, such as "showing up en masse at a meeting and singing the jingle of the now defunct 'Mickey Mouse Club.'"
- at the beginning of the semester request or demand of the professor "that you and your fellow classmates participate in shaping the structure, format and content of that particular course."
- sign up for, attend, denounce and walk out of and picket excessively large classes.
- organize students and "liberated profs" to work out "model counter-curricula." Then come these revealing words: "agitate for its adoption,; mainly because students participated in shaping it rather than on its merits."
- hold mock trials of University officials for their "crimes against humanity."

Obviously, if "student power" and "control" were

formalized as the SDS envisions, institutions of higher education would be badly crippled. Colleges would be turned into chaos and turmoil and no longer would be the sites for either scholarship or a search for truth.

Ranking American educators have warned against this New Left challenge. President Wilson Elkins of the University of Maryland in a speech on April 19, 1967, charged that a "radical fringe" on his campus and other campuses was seeking complete student control of universities. If these elements succeed, Elkins said, the result would be "complete anarchy without any financial support."

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Elkins specifically mentioned [] of SDS and his suggestions relative to tactics to be employed by students to overthrow traditional university authority. He indicated that recent events at Maryland had indicated that "the radical fringe is at work on a disruptive and pernicious plan, although it may not be identified easily." Such events, Elkins said, were outlined in the Davidson article. Elkins particularly mentioned such events as agitation for elimination of grades, demonstrations against military recruiters, a movement for a "free university," agitation for abolition of rules and regulations and "the wail for 'due process'" in disciplinary cases. Dissent is vital to the University, Elkins added; however, "the issue is one of participation

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and not student control."

[] ideas, however, are today being widely circulated among New Left circles. He frequently addresses SDS meetings in various parts of the country. For example, "New Left Notes" for February 27, 1967, carried an announcement that an SDS-sponsored conference would be held March 18-20, 1967, at the University of Oklahoma. Topics to be discussed: "The state of the movement in this region, the draft, campus reform." [] was listed as speaking "on the University."

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Just what effects the SDS [] ideology has produced is difficult to determine. Agitation against the grade system has sprouted on many campuses. A "New York Times" article indicated that Columbia University was considering whether to withhold the class standings of students from draft boards. The article also stated that Wayne State University in Detroit and Reed College in Portland, Oregon, had decided to withhold class rankings. Haverford College in Haverford, Pennsylvania, abandoned class standings altogether to avoid turning them over to draft boards. The article added that in June, 1966, six members of the psychology faculty at City College of New York gave all their students final grades of "A" as a protest against the use of class standings by Selective Service officials.

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Early in 1967, an SDS member, [] was elected

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[redacted] at Iowa State University. A bearded, Beatnik type, [redacted] received widespread publicity (including an article about him in the "New York Times Magazine," April 9, 1967).

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"New Left Notes" (February 27, 1967) was enthusiastic over his election. [redacted] the very image of the stereotyped bearded, long-haired radical took 47% of the votes cast." About 7,200 votes were cast in a race involving four candidates. (Subsequently, [redacted] has become a highly controversial figure. He admitted publicly that he smoked marijuana at "pot parties" on the campus. Impeachment petitions were circulated and he has [redacted])

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Revealingly, [redacted] program included abolition of all University regulations of student life outside the classroom and the elimination of class rank and cooperation of the University with Selective Service officials unless a student so requests.

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[redacted] election, however, shows how a small SDS chapter ("about 30 activists") was able to achieve a victory. Members campaigned against the draft, for the start of a "Free University" and circulated a "We Won't Go" statement.

The article concluded:

"Most of us felt that we've been pretty successful and productive in our activities so far... Boldness, honesty and imagination went into an initially sterile election. Much work. Good leafleting, letters to the editor, posters, and reporting in the 'Daily.' No pressure from the administration. A bored 'apathetic' and sterile University ready for change."

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A key word for the New Left is "organize" - and the Iowa story can be duplicated in other areas of the country. This shows how a small, well-organized, hard-hitting group can activate, mobilize and direct the thinking and actions of many other students. (Interestingly, some of the words used by the SDS are the same as employed by the old-time Bolsheviks when they were aiming toward state power in Czarist Russia. One of the sub-heads in [] article in "New Left Notes" on university reform reads: "What is To Be Done?" - which is the exact title of Lenin's famous pamphlet of 1902 in which he outlines how Bolshevik control is to be obtained.)

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In addition to President Elkins, other prominent educators have spoken out against these New Left tactics:

Clifford Lord, President of Hofstra University:

"A new and disturbing element has been injected in the adoption by student groups of the techniques of nonviolent civil disobedience - a revolutionary tactic which is justifiable only where revolution is justified, i. e., where the democratic processes have broken down and offer no chance for dialogue or reform."

James M. Nabrit, Jr., President of Howard University

"Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., Howard University President, pledged support of free speech and academic freedom on the campus yesterday but said the university will not become a 'place of lawlessness or disorder.'" Nabrit added that the university would not tolerate protests that interfere with classes or disrupt the normal operations of university life. (Washington Star, April 28, 1965)

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John A. Logan, President of Hollins College

"No recent event in our national life is so ominous as the fact that thousands of intelligent and dedicated students have demonstrated a contempt for legality and for the foundations of democratic order upon which our society rests."

Grayson Kirk, President, Columbia University

Kirk urged "self-imposed restraint" upon all members of the university community. "The right to interfere with the rights of others is no part of academic freedom." He urged professors to think twice before making "a ringing public declaration...on a controversial subject, particularly if it is far removed from his own areas of scholarly competence or expertise."

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The Role of New Left "Free Universities" or a Study of
Educational Radicalism

In any analysis of the New Left, the expression "Free University" arises. It is necessary to know something about these "free" or "counter-universities" if we are to understand some of the dangers the New Left poses to the educational processes of a free society.

A number of so-called "Free Universities" have been set up on campuses across the country. In no way are they to be considered universities in the generally accepted meaning of this word. They do not have an administration, a competent and recognized faculty or regular classes. They do not grant degrees or have any acceptance other than in New Left circles. Rather, they represent a potpourri of hastily organized "classes," "bull sessions" or harangues on selected topics. Sometimes a regular university will allow a classroom to be used on the campus. Othertimes, these classes are held off the campus, in homes or other types of buildings.

What is a "Free University?" Actually, it is an assembling of students (and non-students) who claim they want to study topics not given in regular University classes; or, discuss them in a way different from what the regular instructor does. When is a class set up? When a group of students so desire. Who teaches it? Perhaps

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a New Leftist professor, a student or even a non-campus instructor. (Communist Party leaders are known to have served as "Free University" instructors.) To the New Leftist, the word "free" connotes the opposite of the "conformity" and lack of freedom he believes the regular university offers. (Note the similarity of the use of the word "free" by the New Left and behind the Iron Curtain!)

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What is the curriculum? This all depends on the mood and desires of the local students. Class subjects vary over the entire range of radical thought and action. In a New York "Free University," for example, New Left [] was listed as a teacher of "American Radical Tradition to 1900." In another instance, it was "Socialist Thought and Action." There will be courses on civil rights, "participatory democracy" (a favorite New Left expression) and Marxism-Leninism.

Actually, subversive groups, such as the Communist Party, USA, seek to infiltrate these radical student classes. In them, the Party finds an odd assortment of radicals, socialists, anarchists and dupes, all of whom might possibly be manipulated to support the Party line. In one instance, for example, a seminar was announced ("New Left Notes," February 27, 1967) on the topic of "Marxism and Contemporary Problems" sponsored by SDS in association with the American Institute for Marxist Studies (a communist front headed by Party leader Herbert Aptheker), at Harvard University on March 8, 15 and 29, 1967. Among the topics to be discussed were: "Marxism

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and Existentialism: Some Remarks on Sartre and Lukacs" and "Peasant Revolution and Guerilla Warfare." Lecturers included faculty members from Harvard, MIT and Boston University.

Do these "Free Universities" promote scholarship and a search for the truth?

Here is the whole point of their existence. They are agitation centers for New Leftist ideology; schools for revolution and anti-Americanism. Undoubtedly, in a few there are serious discussion and some scholarship. However, their chief aim is ideological: to study radicalism, to find outlets for venting hatred against traditional forms of society, to lay the groundwork for further action of a revolutionary nature. They serve, in a sense, as subversive satellites, hovering under the respectability of the regular university, representing an outlet of New Leftist activism.

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A recent issue of "New Left Notes" (February 3, 1967) carried an article by a [redacted] (Southern Illinois University Free School), headlined: "Free School: a Base for Change." As a student at this state school, he says, "I have tried to figure out how to live in a culture I disliked." The "Free School" gave him his answers. "The Free School is such a counter educational system. At SIU the Free School stresses student control and student concerns and needs, i.e. sex education, China, Vietnam, Black Power, etc." The Student Government has furnished one hundred dollars and

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a promise of a house and equipment.

[] claims that the Free School does not develop "radicals." "But it does develop questioning and a legitimacy for that questioning. One student teacher who is strongly in sympathy with Mao and the Red Guard Movement is listened to by students in the course on China." To [] this school is a "parallel" to the existing educational system for the purpose of changing the latter.

"Thus I see the Free School as a base for change, much the way the Community Union is in the community. It is a free situation for the people involved."

[] has sounded a note of warning, however, relative to "Free Universities." [] supports them completely, but he does not want too much New Left energy going into "separate" schools, thereby draining off opportunities for staying at the regular university and harassing its officials. [] says:

"Forming Free Universities

"This can be a good thing, depending on how it is organized. But we run the risk of the utopian socialists who withdrew from the early labor struggles. We may feel liberated in our Free Universities; but, in the meantime, the 'unfree' university we left goes on cranking out corporate liberals. In fact, they have it easier since we aren't around making trouble."

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Attempts to Prevent Any Cooperation Between the University and
Government Investigative Agencies, such as the FBI

The New Left displays intense hostility against Government investigative agencies, such as the FBI, the CIA, military intelligence and local law enforcement. To the New Left, these agencies are part of the "Establishment," and therefore hostile to the kind of "freedom" envisaged by the SDS and their allies. Especially violent are attacks against Congressional investigating committees, such as the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A key aim of the New Left is to run the FBI and other investigative agencies off the campus - that is, to prevent any cooperation by the university with them. This would forbid the FBI, for example, from gathering information on students, securing their grades or academic class standings and interviewing university personnel. This hostility has become so intense - and it can be expected to grow - that any cooperation by members of the faculty or students with the FBI brings charges of "spying," "snooping" and "Gestapo." The New Left does not recognize the long-standing principle of our democratic society that a citizen has the civic duty to cooperate with his Government in furnishing information needed to enforce our laws.

This New Left tactic has been particularly helpful to subversive elements on the campus, such as the Communist Party, USA,

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the DuBois Clubs, the Young Socialist Alliance and pro-Red Chinese elements. For years, these groups have been combatting Government investigation of their activities. Now with the vehement position of the New Leftists, they are watching others fight their old battle.

An example of this tactic was illustrated on February 23 1967, by a rally sponsored by the Campus Vietnam Day Committee at the University of California at Berkeley. Some 350 to 400 persons gathered at noon in Sproul Hall Plaza to hear speakers attack the University administration, the Berkeley Police Department, the CIA, the FBI and other government agencies. The master of ceremonies asserted that the rally's purpose was to call for an end to cooperation between the University Administration and investigative agencies, as well as to oppose the appearance on campus of representatives of Dow Chemical Company for recruitment of personnel.

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A faculty member, [] criticized the University for furnishing records of students to investigative agencies without student permission. He also called for the faculty to discontinue any cooperation with the CIA and the FBI.

Another speaker deplored the idea that the FBI had access to student records. He called for the removal of all outside police agencies from the campus and named the FBI as one of the organizations which should be "definitely removed from the Berkeley campus."

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Still another speaker was [] well-known student communist leader on the campus. She denounced the cooperation between the school and the FBI and the CIA and called on the professors and others to join the current campaign to "drive them off campus."

New Left literature contains continuous attacks against the FBI. In "New Left Notes" (October 7, 1966), for example, is an article poking fun at the FBI. It claims that there are "some members of the F.B.I. in SDS"; therefore, it proposes that Mr. Hoover be made an honorary member of the group. The FBI is shown always as an "enemy" and a lackey of the "Establishment."

Direct attacks against the FBI are supplemented by attempts to create "incidents," which will inflame student and faculty sentiment. Almost like bloodhounds, SDS members and their allies prowl the campus trying to find something which they can magnify or exaggerate into an attack against the FBI (not only the FBI as an organization but the whole concept of security investigations). False charges are generated that the FBI has a network of student "spies," is collecting information against professors "it doesn't like," or interfering with "academic freedom." If New Left influence is strong on the student paper or in student government, "incidents" can be created.

For example, in March, 1967, the student paper at Duke University (Durham, North Carolina) carried an editorial criticizing

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a student and others at the University who had served as "informants" for the FBI. The editorial was based on the fact that []

[] had admitted that he had furnished information to the FBI about another student. Actually, [] had voluntarily come to the FBI and offered information. (This was [] duty if he felt the information would be of value to the national security of the country. Likewise, the FBI, as the government agency charged with protecting our internal security, had the responsibility of receiving whatever data a citizen voluntarily furnishes. If the FBI hadn't accepted such information, it would have been derelict in its duties.)

In no way did the FBI operate a "spy system" at Duke University. In no way did the FBI infringe upon academic freedom. Here was a case of students hostile to the FBI trying to make an issue out of absolutely nothing.

Especially strong is the New Left emphasis that grades and class rankings not be made available to the FBI and other Government agencies. This viewpoint is directly related to the New Left's dislike of the draft and the role grades play in it. The New Left's rationalization is that information in a student's file is personal and confidential; hence, it should be held in confidence and released only upon that student's request. This is a logical extension of the concept of "student power" - that students (that is, New Left students) would be running the school.

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Overlooked is the fact that these files actually are university administrative files containing a variety of information. Their availability to authorized and selected investigators is most correct.

Nothing are more baseless than New Left charges that the FBI attempts to have teachers spy on students and students spy on teachers. Absolutely no proof has ever been produced to prove such allegations. They represent part of the New Left plan to prejudice students and faculty members into distrusting the FBI, refusing to cooperate with this agency and misinterpreting the FBI's legitimate activities in carrying out its duties.

The New Left, in its campaign against the universities, wants to give the impression that there is a covert link between the FBI and these schools. The recent publicity concerning the CIA and student groups has been widely exploited. No wonder a University President, such as Duke President Douglas M. Knight, denied there was any link between his school and the FBI. "I sincerely feel that the whole issue has been blown out of proportion," he was quoted as saying in reference to the Duke incident. "I would trace it to the atmosphere created by the exposure of the CIA involvement in the National Student Association." "Some people were bound to look around for something here."

At Pennsylvania State University, according to the "New Left Notes," (February 3, 1967), members and supporters of SDS "continued their struggle for academic freedom and student power by

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challenging the administration's right to release the names of radical students to HUAC (House Committee on Un-American Activities) investigators." The article accused the University of refusing to discuss the issue and then added: "Having exhausted reasonable means for relating to the reluctant administration, SDS called for an administration building sit-in which, according to an SDS spokesman, will continue until the administration decides that releasing student names to HUAC is in clear violation of student rights."

There have been frequent demonstrations of various types against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The attack against the FBI and other investigative agencies of the Government can be expected to increase in coming months. Basic in this attack is to sow seeds of distrust, not only on the university campus, but in the community. Of course, the New Left is hostile to local law enforcement, the officers who are required by law to enforce local ordinances. At the University of California at Berkeley, for example, students openly defied the law and local officers.

These are auguries of future trouble.

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New Left Buoyed by Widespread Religious and Academic Support
though Movement Not Marked by Deep Religious or
Intellectual Characteristics

One of the main reasons for the potency of the New Left is the widespread support it has received from clerical leaders, as well as teachers and professors in the academic community. This clerical support, in particular, has helped the Movement achieve a respectability and acceptance it probably would not have achieved otherwise. The presence of clergymen of various faiths at demonstrations and rallies lends a moral appeal which the Movement by itself doesn't possess. The very fact that professors often participate and give guidance provides an academic and intellectual platform for New Left ideas.

A key clerical supporter of the New Left, for example, is Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., Yale University Chaplain. He has been extremely active as a speaker, counselor and advisor to New Left adherents. For example, an article in the February 22, 1967, issue of "The New Haven Register" reflected that Coffin, at a seminar on "Law, Order and Civil Disobedience," had proposed a national campaign of draft defiance. The article stated:

"The chaplain of Yale University has proposed clergymen encourage American students to turn in their draft cards in a mass protest of the Vietnam war.

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"The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., said his plan would amount to 'coercion of the majority by the minority' and added:

"Massive civil disobedience in this instance is really a form of moral justice. On the other hand, we simply have to recognize that as men vote their fears and prejudices as much as anything else, there is no guarantee that majority rule represents the rule of conscience."

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Coffin has been joined by other clerical spokesmen of all faiths. For example, at the San Francisco anti-Vietnam Rally on April 15, 1967, a [] was a key speaker. He denounced American policy in Vietnam. The crowd was made up to a large extent of New Left elements, wearing Beatnik-style dress. Rev. Martin Luther King, as at the April 15th anti-Vietnam demonstration in New York, has become a "darling" of these elements. Another minister closely identified with the New Left was the late A.J. Muste.

The February 3, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" carried a story that "a group of Detroit clergymen, lawyers and others" had established a Draft Counselling Center for use by young men seeking alternatives to service in the Armed Forces. Headquarters of the Center was given as St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, 31 King Street, Detroit. []

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[] was quoted as saying:

"Those of us creating this Center are opposed to American intervention in Vietnam and feel we have a responsibility to the many young men who are being forced to fight in a war they may not understand or agree with. This

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responsibility includes discussing with them alternatives to military participation in this immoral war."

Note the phrase "immoral war." The presence of the clergy lends a moral or spiritual tone to New Left efforts to disobey the draft. This, in essence, is what the Center has as an aim, as reflected in these words in the article:

"The Center will make available literature on draft deferments and conscientious objection, as well as other alternatives to the draft, such as emigration to Canada." (Underscoring added.)

These clergymen apparently see in the New Left a "sense of mission," a "moral thrust" to a better society. Unfortunately, they do not look deeply enough to see that this radical fringe actually is working against law and order, deeply distrusts our democratic processes and possesses not a constructive "idealism" but a cynical understanding of the nature of man. Though there are many varieties of opinion among New Left adherents, there appears to be little sincere belief in religion and God.

Not that the New Left openly attacks religion and the church, but they give them no support. They feel they are part of the hated "Establishment." Inasmuch as religion evidently plays a minor influence in their personal lives, they are not interested in spiritual beliefs. Some New Left adherents openly admit they are atheists.

One student confessed: "It just bothers me to go home

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because I have to lie so much. I'm just sitting there and wishing I could tell them I'm an atheist but I can't yet."

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The "New York Times Magazine" (April 9, 1967) ran an article on [] the bearded-New Leftist who was elected [] at Iowa State University. According to the author, [] lived off-campus near a Presbyterian Church. "Pretty ironical," [] was quoted as saying, "me living next to this."

"Are you a Presbyterian?"

"No. Used to be Catholic. I don't ever really remember believing in God though. Religion is icky."

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In the April 23, 1967, issue of this magazine, the original author of this article, writing a letter to the editor, indicated that [] had recently addressed the American Lutheran Pastors and their wives on "Why I Left the Church."

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[] at Yale University, is one of the most outspoken of the academic leaders of the New Left. He is a highly controversial figure in the university community with his many speeches, articles and foreign travel. Because of his academic background, he has become, in many respects, the intellectual fount of New Left ideology. He has been a formulator, for example, of the concept of "participatory democracy." Therefore, his ideas are widely quoted in New Left circles and put to work by its adherents.

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Perhaps this is [] chief contribution to the

Movement. A "New York Times" article (December 28, 1965)

identified [] as one of the New Left's elder statesmen: "...his appeal among the wildly proliferating groups of the new left is enormous." Students were quoted as to his influence: "Yes, [] could be the one to lead the whole left." "...one of those great men of history." [] is the best political spokesman on the left."

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[] is best known publicly, however, b6 b7C for his bizarre, well-publicized visit in late 1965 and early 1966 to Hanoi in company with [] and Dr. Herbert Aptheker (communist functionary). The three made the trip without State Department permission. After his return, he spoke about his visit, for example, before some 3,000 people at Woolsey Hall at Yale. The "New Haven Register" reported (January 18, 1966):

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"Laughter, applause and words of peace rang through Woolsey Hall Monday night as [] told the Yale community and New Haven of his visit to North Viet Nam.

"Yale's best known assistant professor of history dug deep into a well-stocked bag and came up with a 60-minute talk laced with humor, descriptive touches and his views of war and peace as reflected in the diary of his journey to Hanoi.

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"With the hall's 2,800 seats filled and spectators lining the walls, [] stood amid a glut of bright photographer's lights and kept more than 3,000 listeners in their seats until the end."

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[] influence in the New Left is deeper than most people suspect. This is also true of other academic leaders of the New Left. [] told the "New York Times" that he picked up his "radical ideas" from []. Who is []? He was [] at Iowa State. He is now [] [] SDS. At the college age, students are most impressionable. Hence, the danger of New Left-type professors.

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[], for example, indicated in a letter to "New Left Notes" (February 3, 1967) that she was writing a book on draft resistance.

"I am preparing a book about men who have refused to fight in the Vietnam war and the issues or experiences which lead people to defy Selective Service or military orders on the basis of their conscientious objection to this particular war."

She asks readers to send to her any personal experiences, letters and biographical data on this topic. In essence, this book is to become an instruction book on how to evade the draft!

Yet, paradoxically, despite the leadership of these professors and ministers the New Left movement is intellectually hollow and superficial. A review of "New Left Notes" and other New Left literature will bring out how impractical and foolish their schemes are. They are based on negativism, a desire to tear down with little thought given to the positive. In many respects, the New Left is anti-intellectual

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in that it does not face up to the hard-core problems of life in a twentieth century world. It does not offer the intellectual integrity, hard work and common sense needed to grapple with topics such as poverty, peace, and the nuclear bomb. Their approach is emotional and simplistic.

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Base Motives Always Ascribed to the United States With Little or No
Criticism of the Communist Enemy

A key characteristic of the New Left is an unrelenting criticism of the United States, always ascribing to this country the most vile and base motives. It is not only that this country is wrong, in their opinion: rather, in their eyes, this country must have an evil, malicious and unworthy motive for taking the actions it does. You might almost call this the "devil theory of history." Hence, in the Vietnam War the United States is accused of "murder," "destroying entire populations" and "unjustified and immoral bombing," yet almost nothing is said about Viet Cong atrocities, raids and terror attacks.

The "Washington Daily News" (April 17, 1967), editorializing about the April 15th demonstration, stated:

"They are a minority, a tiny minority, and a not-very-representative one at that. What unites them is their faulty vision. They have a truly astigmatic view of the war.

"They ignore United States motives in Vietnam: To let South Vietnamese settle their political future free from subversion from the North. They ascribe to the U. S. only the basest motives: Murder, conquest, dominance."

For example, at the University of Hawaii (March 21, 1966) an anti-Vietnam rally was held. The platform of Hemenway Hall was decorated with a large parody on the United States flag. Dollar signs replaced the stars; the flag was red, white and black, and the stripes

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were pointed. A Viet Cong flag was flown. There were two signs, one with swastikas at the top and the bottom bearing the inscription "Down with LBJ and His Fascist Running Dogs."

This anti-American mania is reflected in a number of ways. For example, draft cards have been burned. The American flag has been desecrated. Bitter attacks have been made on the motives of American leaders, insinuating the most unworthy motives. In the April 15th demonstration in New York City, for example, floats in the parade included such items as the Statute of Liberty lying on its side. In addition, trucks were filled with parts of mannequins to symbolize the destruction in Vietnam and a yellow submarine. Over 50 individuals burned their draft cards in Central Park during the demonstration. This burning was organized by the Cornell University Chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. An American flag was also burned in the Park.

One looks in vain for comparable criticism of North Vietnam or its communist allies, Soviet Russia and Red China. They are even made heroes, with their actions cast in a favorable light.

The New Left seems to desire - almost to need - an "enemy" on which to vent its bitterness and spleen. That "enemy" is their own country and government. This is one of the paradoxes of the New Left.

Deeper, however, can be seen a basic hatred of America

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that can be satisfied only by the total destruction of this country. Here lies the danger of the New Left - its nihilism and anarchism. Moreover, it is growing more militant and hostile to law. The "National Guardian" of April 8, 1967, carries an analysis of the SDS saying the organization is changing significantly:

" A year ago SDS was discussing the possibility of a move 'from protest to politics.' Today the discussion, and perhaps the decision, is 'from protest to resistance.' The distinction between politics and resistance is so great as to imply a qualitative change. "

" By politics SDS meant the creation of a left political force in the U. S. that would work within the norms of society. By resistance, according to [redacted]

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[redacted] is meant this formulation: 'No matter what America demands, it does not possess us. Whenever that demand comes - we resist. '"

Note the concept: that of resistance; not of working within "the norms of society," as a legitimate reform movement, but developing tools of resistance! Here is the "qualitative change."

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Resistance will be brought about, for example, by SDS plans to organize unions of draft resisters. [redacted]

[redacted] frankly sets forth the objective: such anti-draft organizing, he says, "moves from protest activity to activity that takes on more and more of the characteristics of a seditious resistance movement." If arrest is inevitable, "I think our anti-draft organizers should jump bail, cut out, and go underground, either in

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the U.S. or Canada."

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Later, the article discusses more fully the "resistance concept," quoting [] To reach students, [] says, "We have to build a movement out of people's guts, out of their so-far internalized rejection of American society, and present people with a revolutionary alternative to the American way of life."

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[] continues:

" A resistance movement, based on the slogan, 'Not with my life, you don't' is basic to helping people break out of their own prisons. People are capable of doing extraordinary things when they are in resistance. They can walk out on their studies and take on new lives, if necessary. They do not walk to gas chambers. Is the process of resistance, in struggling against the powerlessness that capitalism imposes on the individual, there is a rediscovery of the self in the midst of a dehumanizing society.

" Many of us in SDS share a conviction that this is what has to happen. That we must resist, and that people must break free. None of us is sure we can win. All we can say is that there are other ways to lead our lives in the face of the obscenity of what American life is - and that we intend to live them that way." (underscoring added.)

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This same concept - that our society isn't really worth saving - is emphasized by []

[] of the New Left. [] says:

"In sum, then, participatory democracy seems to be driving toward the 'live-in,' the building of a brotherly way of life even in the jaws of Leviathan. It is conscientious objection not just to war, but to the whole fabric of a dehumanized society. It is civil disobedience not

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just by individuals, but, hopefully, by broad masses of alienated Americans. Like the conscientious objector, however, the participatory democrat has unfinished business with the question: Is what's intended a moral gesture only, or a determined attempt to transform the American power structure?"
(Underscoring added.)

The burning of draft cards and the spitting on the American flag are only outward manifestations of a deeper malady - a total rejection of America of 1967. This rejection is to be brought about by various types of resistance, such as by civil disobedience, failure to obey the draft and other means. Ultimately, the hope is to tear apart our society.

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New Left Movement Often Reflects Bizarre Dress, Obscene
Language and Relative Moral Standards

Running through the New Left movement is a definite pattern of personal habits as reflected in dress, language and moral habits. In some respects, they serve as symbols of recognition for these groups not only on campuses but elsewhere.

Many New Leftists are identified by a beatnik style, with long hair and sandals. Some of the boys wear beards, while the girls dress in black stockings, old shoes and odd-fitting dresses. Often personal cleanliness is neglected, with dirty fingernails, unbrushed hair and unwashed faces.

At the April 15, 1967, anti-Vietnam demonstration in Kezar Stadium in San Francisco, a high percentage of the participants were beatniks and hippies who were conspicuous with their long hair, unkempt beards, sandals, boots and multi-colored wearing apparel. They were heckled during the parade to the stadium by pro-Vietnam demonstrators who kept calling, "Take a bath!" "Take a bath!"

A certain psychology seems to underlie this desire for unconventional dress. At the heart of the New Left is the concept of rebellion against conformity, institutions, society. Hence, bizarre dress becomes, in their eyes, a way of striking back against what they call regimentation. They want to be different. They seek ways

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to scoff at established institutions - not only to satisfy their own inner feelings of alienation, but to antagonize those who believe in the accepted morality. To the New Left, unconventionality is an inherent characteristic of its view of the world.

Associated with the habit of dress is widespread use of drugs - the psychedelic world. It is difficult to state with accuracy the extent of "hippie" activity among the New Left - its use of LSD, marijuana, opium and other types of drugs. Obviously, many New Left adherents have not dabbled in this type of activity.

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Considerable publicity concerning drugs and the New Left occurred recently when [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] at Iowa State University, admitted that he smoked marijuana at pot parties on campus.

The use of drugs, however, would be part of the psychology of the New Left - to shock their elders and society at large, to show their rebellion, to give practical evidence of their unconventionality.

Still another sign of the New Left is the use of obscene language. Here is still more evidence of the desire to be different and to be non-conformists. You need only read "New Left Notes," the publication of the SDS; for example, to see the frequent use of four letter words. They are designed not only to shock, but to make their authors feel part of the "liberal modern trend," that is, which

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accepts and encourages such language in literature and daily life.

Some of this language even appears in college newspapers. The March 14, 1967, issue of "The Spectrum," publication of the State University of New York at Buffalo, carried an insert called "Introspectrum," which purported to be a coverage of "Spring Arts: 67." This insert included a review of a performance given by "The Fugs," a musical group, during a recent university concert. It described in filthy language the music performed and the lyrics employed during the performance. The song topics ranged from a gutter description of sex to an obscene description of American foreign policy.

In the same category, are the moral standards of many New Leftists: namely, "that whatever you want to do, goes!" SDS, for example, has held some of its meetings in rural resort areas. The members of both sexes sleep in the same cabins. They dress or not dress, depending on how they feel. "Morality" means just what you want it to mean!

In the field of sex, as in language, dress and drugs, the New Left wants to violently slap against what it calls conventional or bourgeois society. In this way, it feels, New Leftists can assert their "individuality" and "personality."

Not long ago, a news dispatch told how a San Francisco

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church had offered its facilities to some of the hippies. The article starts out:

"Suppose a bunch of marijuana smoking hippies, boys with hair to their shoulders and barefoot girls in funny glasses, were using the basement of your church round-the-clock?"

Some of the church officers don't like what's going on. One official is quoted:

"When a group of people reject the moral code of our society, curse and swear, are admitted fornicators, are physically unclean, reject - if not despise - the law, etc., I believe they are unchristian and immoral.

"The fact that they may practice principles which are also Christian does not make them either Christian or religious."

The clergyman involved sees them in a different sense. He feels that the hippies have "a very strong and urgent spiritual hunger" and the church should help them.

Here is the controversy which has been stirred up.

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The Generational Gap - A New Left Distrust of All People
Over the Age of 30

To understand the New Left, we must appreciate the significance of the so-called "generational gap." Much has been written in the past about the gap between generations, the misunderstandings between fathers and sons. This undoubtedly has been true as far back as ancient Greece and Rome.

But in the New Left movement, the "generational gap" takes on special significance. It is not a matter of honest disagreement, of logical conflicts based on differences of age or environment. The difference stems from an abiding distrust, rejection, if not hatred. The New Left has absolutely no use for the older generation - and is not hesitant in saying so.

As one commentator stated, these youngsters simply don't trust their elders, who are defined as any person over 30 years of age.

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[redacted] in Georgia who recently achieved national publicity, was quoted as saying, "I'm twenty-eight and already I feel old."

Why this distrust, this cleft-like dichotomy between generations?

Because, in New Left eyes, the "old generation" is decadent, corrupt and not worth redeeming. A commentator, speaking

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of an address made before a group of high school students, said he "received his greatest applause when he condemned in sweeping fashion the old politics, the old parties, the compromises of the old liberalism."

This same viewpoint was expressed by another writer who stated that some students "are almost arrogant in accusing the older generation of having sold out." He quoted one student as saying the generational gap "arises out of the disillusionment with the older group who have given up and traveled the middle of the road, despite its ruts and the crap that falls on them.... People in the older generation... are prone to accept a compromise."

Here is the moralism of the New Left, the constant feeling that their elders have "played false," have compromised with the "evils" of the "Establishment" and the "status quo." Hence, the older generation should be knocked from its pedestal of "hypocrisy" and "insincerity."

To the New Left, the "generational gap" implies that a policy is invalid unless it (the new generation) has had a hand in its formulation. Anything created by the "elders" is not binding on them. What does this mean? It means rejecting the inherited wisdom of the past. It means the denial of authority. Hence, we see violent attacks against school regulations, curricula and

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administrative officers. If you don't like the rules, flaunt them.

If the "authorities" (whether school or governmental) attempt to bring you to judgment, scorn and defy them! The law - what is it? It is nothing but an archaic set of rules created by adults who no longer command respect or obedience!

Stokely Carmichael, the fiery leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and an advocate of "black power," is one of the most outspoken advocates of the New Left's "generational gap." In a recent talk, for example, he denounced coalitions of Negroes with white liberal and labor groups as "total garbage." He ridiculed "talk of morality, love, hand holding, singing songs."

By their self-righteous posture and contempt for all who disagree with them, the New Left to a large extent is an isolationist-type group. By their own demeanor, they have alienated themselves from the mainstream of university and national life. They want no part of "compromise," "coalition," "working with other groups." This isolationist, purist viewpoint leads them to become more radical and arrogant and impractical. The very fact that SDS is now shifting from a policy of protest to one of resistance regarding the draft, is an indication of this position.

Increasingly, the New Left can be expected to appeal to high school students. So far, SDS, for example, has evidenced little interest in organizing chapters in high schools. However, SDS has

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been interested in passing out literature to high school students and encouraging them to participate in anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

The New Left's future pressure, with its emphasis on youth as the ultimate panacea of all problems, will be increasingly directed toward the growing numbers of young people in our country. In a population which is becoming increasingly youthful, the New Left can be expected to find wider fields of endeavor.

A key question is: how effectively can the New Left infect the rising generation with its anti-American prattle?

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WHAT IS THE NEW LEFT'S PRIME DANGER?

The New Left's impact on American life (on the college and university campus in particular) is reflected by the growing number of articles, pictures and stories about it in our news media.

Not that student unrest and dissatisfaction are new. They have been erupting through the centuries - in Greece, Rome, 19th century Victorian England. To some members of the older generation, student behavior (or misbehavior) is shameful and reprehensible; to others, it is only part of the growing up process.

It is not the dissent, the often overzealous enthusiasm, the demonstrations and parades of students which are concerning many thoughtful Americans today. Dissent is an integral part of our American way of life. Dissent is the very heartbeat of academic life. Traditionally, the university campus has been the home of all varieties of opinion, some highly radical and unorthodox.

Moreover, what adult college graduate cannot remember (usually with nostalgia and humor) some "stunt," or "demonstration" or "incident" in which he participated as a student? The very fact that college students do "odd" things, such as conducting panty raids, blocking traffic, waving signs, going on "toots," is nothing new. Today's youths probably don't behave too differently from their fathers

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and great grandfathers.

Student dissent and behavior (or misbehavior) are not what concerns perceptive citizens today. Rather it is something more fundamental. It is the alienation of the New Left from our democratic thought, processes and ideals. It is the open hostility of these students to law and order, to civilized behavior and the concept of liberty under law. It is the growing anarchism, nihilism and negativism of a Movement which derogates the institutions which gave it the freedom it now enjoys.

Writing in the May 6, 1967, issue of the "Saturday Evening Post," Buell G. Gallagher, President of the City College of New York, talking about these student rebels, states: "One alarming aspect of current rebellion is its disregard of the consequences of illegality. In essence, this is anarchy."

The New Left identifies itself with the problems of American society: civil rights, poverty, disease, slums. But with its anarchist bent, it refuses to cooperate sincerely with other groups interested in eradicating these same problems. The lesson is obvious. The New Leftist, despite his protestations of sincerity, is not legitimately interested in bringing about a better Nation.

Actually, and here lies the danger, he is dedicated - in his bizarre and unpredictable ways - to cut the tap roots of American society. He rejects the seasoned experience of the past. He distrusts

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the motives of all except himself. He sees the future in terms of emotion and fanaticism instead of reason and common sense.

The tragedy of the New Left is that it is non-dialogue in nature. Whether its adherents realize it or not, this attitude puts them outside the pale of respectability in a democratic society - that is, they are an arrogant, haughty and obnoxious element sitting on the sidelines, criticizing others who are playing the game, but not willing to do their share. In addition, being fanatics, they attract a vast variety of irresponsibles: "kooks, beatniks, hippies, goof balls, soap box actors, demagogues."

Moreover, since they are anti-democratic, anti-American and anti-common sense, they become prey to the superior organizational ability and talents of the old-line subversive organizations, such as the Communist Party, USA, the Socialist Workers Party and their satellites. The history of the New Left is its manipulation and exploitation by men bred in the Leninist concepts of organization and tactics. Time after time the New Left has unlocked the doors of treason for these groups.

President Gallagher comments: "Today's college rebels are a new breed. They know it, and it's time we knew it also: New dimensions of understanding are required."

Here is the task of the American - to know more about the New Left, and its anarchist, nihilist, cynical strains. It should not

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be arbitrarily equated with the traditional old-line Left. To simply identify them as Moscow or Peking communists would be missing the point. They are a new type of subversive - whose danger is great.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ALL RESIDENT AGENTS and
SECURITY SQUAD AGENTS

DATE: 6/12/68

FROM : SAC, Milwaukee (100-15657)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBullets 5/10/68, 5/23/68 and 5/29/68, previously furnished to all RAs.

Attached hereto is another Bureau project set forth in communication dated 5/28/68 pertaining to the disruption of the New Left. The deadline is 7/3/68.

Copies of 5/28/68 are being disseminated to all RAs for their information; however, since a number of Wisconsin universities have activities coming within the purview of Bulet 5/28/68, the following specific leads are set forth:

LEADS

MADISON

University of Wisconsin

SA

MILWAUKEE

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UWM

SA

Marquette University

SA

APPLETON

Lawrence University

SA

WHITEWATER

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Wisconsin State University-Whitewater

SA

MI:100-15657

cc: Each SA on Security Squad
cc: Each RA
cc: SAC, ASAC
RES:mk
(30 copies)

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Classified by 4561

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

100-15657-13

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 20 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Uncontrolled Protest Attacked

Ripon, Wis. —AP— Ripon college President Bernhard S. Adams said Saturday night that moderates in America feared uncontrolled social protest, "often significantly labeled social action," because it led almost inevitably to violence.

"On college campuses we have insisted upon integrated housing and nondiscriminatory housing," said Adams. "Now black students demand segregated housing, special

course and study arrangements, and student organizations to which only blacks can belong. Are we in fact moving backward rather than forward in our search for complete racial equality?"

Adams addressed 1,051 high school students attending the 27th Badger Boys State on the Ripon campus.

He said he deplored the militant black movement for a separate community and a separate power base for black people.

"When an educated Negro graduated this year from my own alma mater, declares he is a black first and an American second — I fear for him and for this country," Adams said.

To alleviate these problems, Adams called for a three point attack: "Education for all who can profit from it, adults as well as children, and regardless of economic means . . . jobs for all able bodied citizens . . . (and) a welfare system that benefits the under and over age and those physically unable to work."

Badger Boys State is sponsored by the Wisconsin department of the American Legion. Its purpose is to give the delegates, who have just completed their junior years in high school, a knowledge of fundamental principles of American government through practice.

During the week, the delegates will be grouped into mythical states and separated into two mythical political parties, Nationalist and Federalist. City, county and state governments will be formed and there will be elections to numerous offices.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-20

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 6/16/68

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification: EST-100-15657-14

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

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SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
JUN 18 1968

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MI 100-15657

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[redacted]
[redacted] been reported Communist Party (CP) members and [redacted] has played a leading role in campus protests in 1966 and 1967, including an arrest in February, 1967, for disorderly conduct during a protest against the Dow Chemical Company at the UW.

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[redacted]
[redacted] attended the SDS National Convention in June, 1967, as a [redacted]

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[redacted]
[redacted] during the protest of October 18, 1967, and pleaded no contest to the charge when he appeared in Dane County Circuit Court in December, 1967. In May, 1968, the public press reported that [redacted] was in Hanoi talking with the North Vietnamese officials.

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[redacted]
[redacted] is reported to [redacted] house he occupies in Madison and uses it to prepare SDS and other radical literature for distribution on campus.

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[redacted]
[redacted] on the UW campus in 1966 for walking out of a hearing considering his role as a leader in the student protest of October 18, 1967. [redacted] had also been arrested for disorderly conduct at a prior demonstration against the Dow Chemical Company in February, 1967. Although expelled, [redacted] remains on the UW campus and is appealing the action of the University in dismissing him.

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[redacted]
Although not a student and, therefore, unable to openly function as an SDS leader, the name of [redacted] should be considered since he has been observed leading protest

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2) UWM - SDS Ring Leaders

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[redacted]
[redacted], a white male, was born [redacted]
at Milwaukee, Wisconsin and currently attends UWM major-
ing in English. He formerly attended Kalamazoo College in
Michigan in 1964 - 1965. He resides with [redacted]
[redacted], Milwaukee and is [redacted]
[redacted] and was listed in September, 1967 as
[redacted] on Conscientious Objection to the
Draft. [redacted] is a member of MOC and has participated in
demonstrations against recruitment of Dow Chemical Company
at the UWM and also appeared in demonstrations at the
Milwaukee Induction Center concerning individuals who
opposed induction into the Armed Forces. [redacted] is not
known to be a member of the CP.

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[redacted]
[redacted], a white female, was born on [redacted]
[redacted] at Milwaukee, Wisconsin and currently attends UWM
during the school year 1967 - 1968. She is currently
employed as an Assistant to the Instructor, UWM and
resides with [redacted]
Milwaukee, Wisconsin. [redacted] was listed in the 1967 -
1968 UWM Freshmen Bulletin as [redacted]
UWM Chapter. She has been listed as a member of the MOC
and has participated in marches in support of the Milwaukee
Youth Council, NAACP in which Father James Groppi is the
Advisor. There is no indication that [redacted] is a member
of the CP.

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[redacted], also known as
[redacted]

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[redacted] was born [redacted] at Cleveland,
Ohio. He is a white male, resides with [redacted]
[redacted], Wisconsin. He
is employed as an [redacted] UWM and
[redacted] for the "Free University" of
Milwaukee which was sponsored on the UWM campus by the
UWM, SDS Chapter. [redacted] has been identified with
the Johnson Forest Group, a Trotskyite organization, and
has participated in numerous demonstrations on the UWM
Campus sponsored by SDS as well as participating in other
demonstrations at the Milwaukee Induction Center concern-
ing objection to military service.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was born [redacted]
Wisconsin and is a white female. [redacted]
and is employed as an [redacted] at UWM. Her
residence is [redacted].
She has engaged in anti-Vietnam demonstrations in
Milwaukee as well as protesting the recruitment of the
Dow Chemical Company and the Central Intelligence
Agency. She has participated in many demonstrations
at the Milwaukee Induction Center in opposition to the
military draft as well as SDS demonstrations on the UWM
campus. She has been identified in the past as a member
of the Johnson Forest Group, a Trotskyite organization.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was born [redacted] at Boston,
Massachusetts, a white male whose parents reside at
Boston, Massachusetts. He was [redacted]

[redacted]
at which time he admitted interest in the "Young
Americans for Freedom", "John Birch Society", and the
"Minutemen." He has participated in anti-Vietnam
demonstrations and was suspected of posting anti-Vietnam
War literature at Andrews Air Force Base. He was
diagnosed as being a paranoid personality and it was
recommended he be discharged as unsuitable for military
service. [redacted] during the school year of 1967 -
1968 was a student at UWM. He has been active with the
MOC and the UWM, SDS Chapter.

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On February 26, 1968 [redacted] was one of the
students arrested on the campus at UWM during a sit-in
demonstration in Mitchell Hall concerning the SDS
Chapter's demonstration against the recruitment by the
Dow Chemical Company. A news article in the "Milwaukee
Journal", a daily newspaper, indicated that [redacted]
was convicted for this offense. He resides at [redacted]
[redacted], Wisconsin. There is
no indication that [redacted] is a current member of
the CP.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was born [redacted] Clintonville, Wisconsin and attended UWM from September, 1965 through June, 1968 seeking a BA Degree. He resides at [redacted] and previously attended the Clintonville High School in Wisconsin. [redacted] is a white male and according to the "UWM Post", a campus newspaper, under date of March 8, 1968, [redacted] was identified as a member of the MOC. On March 27, 1968 [redacted] participated in a demonstration at the Milwaukee Induction Center in support of [redacted] at Lakeland College, Sheboygan, Wisconsin, who refused to take a pre-induction physical. The "Milwaukee Sentinel", daily Milwaukee newspaper issue of April 23, 1968 carried an article "Students Planning Two Day Protest" reflected that [redacted] for the MOC and was coordinating the efforts for a student demonstration on April 26, 1968 in connection with the "Ten Days of Protest" throughout the nation. On April 28, 1968 a reliable source advised that on that date a "Conference on Independent Politics" took place at the Sheraton-Schroeder Hotel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin which was sponsored by the Committee for Community Power (CCP), an Ad Hoc Communist action organization currently in existence in Milwaukee.

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[redacted] is not known to be a member of the CP, and is currently the subject of a Selective Service Act case in Milwaukee inasmuch as he was one of the five persons who turned in his draft card at a local Baptist Church indicating his refusal to be inducted into the Armed Forces. [redacted] was recently interviewed in the Selective Service matter and stated "I have nothing to say to the FBI."

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3) UWM - SDS
Disruptive Activities

October 11, 1967

On the above date [redacted] an admitted Communist, who was convicted in July, 1967 for violation of the Selective Service Act for refusing to be inducted, was scheduled to appear on this date before the United States

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District Judge, Eastern District of Wisconsin. The SDS Chapter of UWM including members of the MOC picketed in front of the Federal Building during the time [] was appearing before the United States District Judge.

January 10, 1968

The "Milwaukee Sentinel" carried an article on January 9, 1968 entitled "UW War Foe Will Refuse Army Service." The article reflected that Richard Atlee, a member of the Draft Resistance Union at Madison, Wisconsin, stated that he has sent in his draft card to the draft board. The article stated that the UWM, SDS and other groups were scheduled to picket the Milwaukee Induction Center at the time Atlee appeared for induction. An article appearing in the "Milwaukee Sentinel" under date of January 11, 1968, entitled "Two Draft Foes Charged" indicated that a demonstration took place at the Milwaukee Induction Center which included the SDS Chapters of Marquette University and UWM along with MOC in behalf of Richard Atlee of Madison who refused induction. During this demonstration, according to the article, two Madison men were charged with disorderly conduct who reported for pre-draft physical examinations who had obscenities printed across their chests. At the time of the arrest sixty anti-draft and anti-Vietnam War demonstrators picketed in front of the Induction Center.

February 26, 1968

On the above date the SDS Chapter at UWM held a demonstration against the recruitment by Dow Chemical Company on the UWM campus. The demonstration was led by [] and a "sit-in" was staged in the hallway of the second floor of the Mitchell Building at UWM where the Dow Chemical Company recruitment interviews were taking place. Approximately 75 students sat on the floor in front of the door and counter-pickets of the Pi Sigma Epsilon Fraternity and spectators totaled approximately 200 people in the hallway. Two students were arrested in connection with this

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demonstration including [redacted] previously mentioned.

March 18, 1968

On the above date a demonstration took place on the campus of the UWM in protest against a recruitment by CIA. Previously the CIA had cancelled their recruitment on the campus which was held in the Federal Building at Milwaukee. A news article appearing in the "Milwaukee Journal" under date of March 14, 1968, entitled "Protest Play Operated on UWM Campus" stated that a protest play entitled "Madame CIA" would be performed out of doors on the UWM campus Monday and Tuesday prior to the above demonstration. The actors in this play included reported members of the SDS, UWM Chapter and [redacted] was one of the principal authors of the play entitled "Madame CIA." Subsequent to this demonstration approximately 100 students organized by the SDS Chapter at UWM marched to the downtown Federal Building where they dispersed. There were no incidents or arrests.

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March 27, 1968

On the above date a source advised that a demonstration sponsored by the UWM, SDS, the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union and members of MOC staged a picket demonstration at the Milwaukee Induction Center in behalf of [redacted] Sheboygan, Wisconsin. The demonstration increased to a total of 46 persons participating in the demonstration.

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April 26, 1968

The "Milwaukee Sentinel" issue of April 23, 1968 carried an article "Students Planning Two Day Protest." This article reported that the Milwaukee area college and high school students would participate in the "International Days of Protest" Friday and Saturday according to John Hagedorn, spokesman for the MOC which was coordinating efforts in Milwaukee. The article stated that the rally would be held at the UWM Student Union at 12:30 PM on April 26, 1968. It was

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further stated that a march would begin from the UWM campus at 3:15 and proceed to the Federal Building where it would be joined by Marquette University students and high school students who would then march and picket City Hall, Milwaukee. A source advised that on April 26, 1968 in connection with the "Ten Days of Protest and Resistance" representatives of MOC, UWM-SDS Chapter held a rally on the UWM campus attended by 150 students which lasted until 2:20 PM. At 3:15 PM this group made a march to the Federal Building, Milwaukee joined by high school students. Another source advised that the above group was joined by the SDS Chapter at the University at the Federal Building where they picketed from 4:30 PM to 5 PM and then marched to City Hall in Milwaukee where they presented a petition to the Mayor and Chief of Police. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] at the rally at City Hall.

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MI 100-15657

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[redacted]
[redacted] have both been reported Communist Party (CP) members and [redacted] has played a leading role in campus protests in 1966 and 1967, including an arrest in February, 1967, for disorderly conduct during a protest against the Dow Chemical Company at the UW.

[redacted]
[redacted] attended the SDS National Convention in June, 1967, as a national council delegate.

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[redacted]
[redacted] of the UW Administration Building during the protest of October 18, 1967, and pleaded no contest to the charge when he appeared in Dane County Circuit Court in December, 1967. In May, 1968, the public press reported that [redacted] was in Hanoi talking with the North Vietnamese officials.

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[redacted]
[redacted] is reported to [redacted] he occupies in Madison and uses it to prepare SDS and other radical literature for distribution on campus.

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[redacted]
[redacted] became an SDS leader on the UW campus in 1966 for walking out of a hearing considering his role as a leader in the student protest of October 18, 1967. [redacted] had also been arrested for disorderly conduct at a prior demonstration against the Dow Chemical Company in February, 1967. Although expelled, [redacted] remains on the UW campus and is appealing the action of the University in dismissing him.

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[redacted]
Although not a student and, therefore, unable to openly function as an SDS leader, the name of [redacted] should be considered since he has been observed leading protest

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Teen Agers Warned of Leftist Bid

By KEITH SPORE

Sentinel Staff Writer

Green Lake, Wis. — More than 750 high school student council members were warned here Friday that leftist student groups would make a strong bid this year for leadership roles in the nation's high schools.

Earl Reum, co-ordinator of student activities for the Denver public schools, said that activist organizations akin to the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) will pose a serious challenge to the leadership functions of student councils.

Reum, 38, presently director of the National Student Council Leadership conference, was the keynote speaker at the 34th annual Wisconsin Association of Student Councils (WASC) state conference at the American Baptist assembly here.

He said that student councils will have to be committed to promoting significant learning experiences to combat the thrust of groups like SDS.

He said that student councils will have to choose projects that are relevant to this generation. They have to develop their own message to meet the challenges they encounter — whether it's SDS,

a racial misunderstanding or other social issues, he said.

"It isn't a matter of life and death, it's more important than that," Reum said.

In an interview earlier, Reum said that the Chicago branch of the SDS was working on national distribution of a booklet called "Toward High School Reform."

The booklet, he said, advises pupil activists to attack school dress codes and lunch room operations and urges them to publish underground newspapers.

"There is a movement afoot to destroy the school. Kids who see injustices, SDS members for example, had to go too far to get people to listen. They had to propose revolution in order to make people consider change."

"But it's been good for us (school administrators) because it has made us listen to the kids again," he said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-22

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 10/19/68

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigatedb6
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b7C

MI ONLY.

100-15657-28

SEARCHED ☒ INDEXED ☒SERIALIZED ☒ FILED ☒

OCT 22 1968

MILWAUKEE

Best Copy Available

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

For a Democratic Society?

While press freedom is traditionally considered basic to democratic society, it is not similarly regarded by the campus organization called Students for a Democratic Society.

SDS members forcibly ejected reporters and photographers from a national council meeting in Boulder, Colo. Earlier, at the SDS national convention in East Lansing, Mich., the press was similarly barred, prompting the Michigan Daily, one of the nation's leading student newspapers, to observe that the organization had more security checks than many research laboratories.

This militant distrust of the press is odd, to say the least, coming from an organization that calls itself democratic. One explanation is that certain SDS leaders maintain that in America the press functions as a propaganda organ for the "capitalist establishment."

Another explanation is provided by a 25-year-old former Columbia university undergraduate who covered the student uprisings there for the New Republic. He wrote in a report on the SDS led occupation of Mathematics hall that many organization leaders employed verbal and physical intimidations "as part of a kind of Stalinist approach to the truth that many of the radicals embraced."

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-16
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 10/22/68

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

100-11657-29
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

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Leftist Helped Raise 'Milwaukee 14' Bail

By WILLIAM B. HALE, JR.
of The Journal Staff

John Gilman, former executive director of the old Civil Rights congress, once regarded as the principal Communist front organization in Wisconsin, said Thursday that he helped raise \$97,500 that was used to provide bail for 14 war protesters accused of burning Milwaukee draft records.

Gilman, of 3420 N. Murray av., said in a telephone interview Thursday night that he personally raised \$35,000 for what he called the "Milwaukee 14 Defense committee."

He is the owner of a south-side linoleum store which was bombed by Ku Klux Klansmen two years ago.

The \$97,500 in loans and contributions came to the defense committee from all over the country, he said. Gilman said he was present when

checks for the bail fund were handed over to Milwaukee bondsman Harry Meiroff.

Gilman explained that the money was not actually used



John Gilman

for bail, but was given to Meiroff as collateral for the bail.

Meiroff, when asked about the transaction Thursday, said

Turn to Bail, page 6, col. 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Bail

Leftist Gilman Helped Protesters' Fund

From page 1.

the posting of collateral was done not through him but through his firm's office in Indianapolis.

Testimony in the trial of the man who bombed Gilman's store, Turner H. Cheney, grand dragon of the Illinois Ku Klux Klan, showed that Cheney said before the bombing "what a surprise the Communist would have to find his store blown up."

The witness, an accomplice, who turned state's evidence, said the reference was to Gilman.

After the bombing, Gilman said in an interview, "I'm not a member of the Communist party. But I work with peace and civil rights people which have all kinds of people in them, including Communists."

Asked at that time why he thought the bomb was planted, Gilman said:

"I personally think some people in Milwaukee are for intensifying the war — (those) who would deny civil rights to the Negro people."

Gilman testified at hearings of the house un-American activities subcommittee in 1955 at the federal building here. A year later the committee said

in a report that Gilman was a member of a young group which it said the Communists were "grooming for leadership in the future."

Gilman said that, by posting \$97,500 in cash as collateral for the bail — which totaled exactly that amount for the 14 protesters — the defense committee was able to negotiate a lower premium with the bondsman.

"If you put up the collateral in cash," he said, "the premium drops way down. Instead of 10% of \$97,500 ... it was about 5%, roughly."

When the trials for the 14 defendants end, the money re-

ceived by the defense committee as loans will be returned to the lenders, Gilman said.

Gilman said he raised about \$35,000 by calling "I would say, hundreds of people" in the Milwaukee area. The biggest amount, he said, was \$19,000, but he refused to identify the lender.

"Oh, that's confidential," he said. "In fact, a lot of these people called me through an attorney. I don't even know some of them."

All 14 of the protesters were released through the efforts of the defense committee, and as a result of the posting of the \$97,500, Gilman said.

All but one of the protesters have been ordered held for trial on state charges of being a party to burglary, theft and arson in connection with the burning of draft records taken from the selective service office here.

The 14th defendant, Michael D. Cullen, 26, operator of the Casa Maria House of Hospitality, 1131 N. 21st st., still is awaiting a preliminary hearing.

After the state charges were issued, a federal grand jury indicted the 14 and John Hagedorn, 21, of 2626 W. Juneau av., in connection with the burning of the records.

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MI 100-15657

During early October, 1968, a play was produced at the University of Wisconsin - Madison, entitled "Peter Pan," in one sequence of which female dancers appeared nude. This play received widespread publicity, and the District Attorney for Dane County, Wisconsin threatened to prosecute the participants in any further production. In defiance of the District Attorney's edict, one further production was held. The District Attorney was able to ascertain the identity of one of the female nude dancers, and local charges were brought against her.

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MI 100-15657

It is felt that these editorials effectively brought to the attention of a wide range of the public the dangerously subversive and anarchistic nature of the SDS and should be instrumental in directing public opinion toward demanding the curtailment of this organization's activities on Wisconsin university campuses.

SAC (100-15639)

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11/22/63

SA [redacted]

[redacted]
IS-SDS

SDS - 1100

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On 11/21/63, SA's [redacted] and [redacted] made a spot check of the apartment building at [redacted] to determine if the above captioned individual was residing there.

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Upon arriving at the address, [redacted] was observed walking down the sidewalk and entering the building, which is a two apartment type structure with an apartment on the first and second floor. Agent [redacted] entered the foyer of the building to determine if the names of the occupants were listed on the mailbox. The mailbox contained no names, but the door of the bottom apartment had the names of [redacted] and [redacted] who are known to the Milwaukee files as associates of the radical element. Agent [redacted] knocked on the door and, when a voice asked who he was looking for, he replied, [redacted]. The door was opened by an attractive blonde female who identified herself as the roommate of [redacted] and said they lived in the upstairs apartment. Agent [redacted] said he was [redacted] from the FBI" and he had gotten a call at the office that [redacted] wanted to talk to him. The roommate said that [redacted] was not at home and she doubted that she had called the FBI or would ever care to talk to an agent.

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The pretext visit by Agent [redacted] was made to determine the address of [redacted] and to ascertain if possible the party or parties being visited by [redacted]. Det., SAS, Milwaukee PD, has advised in the past that [redacted] has been accused at SDS and KOC meetings of being a police informant and the pretext used in this instance could possibly serve to reduce her effectiveness with the radical group with whom she is an active member.

1 - MI 100-14825 [redacted]
1 - MI 100-15441 (CDS-UW) [redacted]
1 - MI 100-15578 [redacted]
1 - MI 100-15614 [redacted]
1 - MI 100-15657 (COUNTER INTELLIGENCE
AGAINST NEW LEFT)

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100-15657-32

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(6)

[redacted] P&S

~~100-15657-32~~
~~456~~

Don F
Indefinite / Date Classified at MI 1-13-25

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NI 100-15639

A [redacted] was observed in front of the building with
[redacted] A check revealed this car to be
registered to [redacted] of Subject.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Homestead OK's Conduct, Dress Code

The Homestead high school board Thursday formally adopted a conduct and dress code for its pupils despite the pleas of about a dozen pupils who attended the meeting and presented a petition against the move.

The code, which was passed unanimously, gave the school administration authority to suspend or expel "any student who, through his actions, behavior, dress, appearance or presence, shall disrupt the normal routine" of the school.

The code forbids pupils to distribute newspapers, magazines and pamphlets without permission from the administration. Kaleidoscope and the Open Door, an underground high school paper, have been distributed around the school.

In urging passage of the measure, Homestead Principal Lauren Dixon cited both as publications which might have a bad effect upon younger members of the student body who might not be able to make adult decisions on material the newspapers advocate.

The pupils' petition was signed by 259 pupils who they said constituted about 20% of the student body. The pupils argued that the policy, which had been used informally for some time, was unconstitutional and would suppress individual taste, dress and literature.

The pupils quietly walked out of the meeting before the vote was taken.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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A-17

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 12/20/68

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

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100-15657-33

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
DEC 20 1968

MI ONLY

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MI 100-15657

"Kaleidoscope" and "The Open Door"

"Kaleidoscope" is an underground newspaper published in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, much of which material appearing therein is pornographic in nature.

"The Open Door" is a publication of the Milwaukee Student Alliance, an organization of high school students the purpose of which publication is to give the Milwaukee high school students a greater voice in the operation of their school as well as the selection of a curriculum. Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) is actively attempting to influence the policies of "The Open Door."

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On 12/6/68, a copy of "Kaleidoscope" and a copy of "The Open Door" were anonymously mailed to

[redacted]
with certain objectionable statements and pictures indicated in red pencil. It was known that these papers had been distributed in the vicinity of Homestead High School on 12/5/68.

The following is a Xerox copy of a news article appearing in "The Milwaukee Sentinel" on 12/20/68, which indicates a favorable result of this tactic.

July 23, 1969

SAC, MILWAUKEE (25-10714)

SA [redacted]

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RM

On 7/18/69, [redacted] who stated he is
a [redacted]
business telephone number [redacted], home address, [redacted]
[redacted] home telephone [redacted]
made available the following two attached documents:

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b7C

1) Letter dated 7/15/69, from [redacted]

*collected
1A*

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[redacted] advised he had received this letter in
his school mailbox on 7/17/69.

[redacted] advised that he had taken the document
captioned "King Alfred" from the desk of a [redacted]

[redacted] advised
that [redacted] shares the same office with him.

4 - Milwaukee
(2 - 25-10714)
(2 - 157-Now)

JWV/ds
(4)

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 456
~~Indefinite~~
Date Classified at MI
1-13-75

CCO -
route 1A attached
to [redacted]

100-15657-40
7 7
[redacted] B
[redacted] BS

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1/6/70

SAC, Milwaukee (100-15657)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Milwaukee letter, dated 9/24/69.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

None.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

Bureau approval has been obtained to employ a counterintelligence tactic against [redacted] and [redacted] Milwaukee, Wis., [redacted], as set forth in referenced letter. This tactic is being held in abeyance, due to the fact that the [redacted] have not been active in any New Left issue at the present time. The tactic will be utilized at such time that the [redacted] do participate in some New Left activity.

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3. Tangible Results

As set forth in referenced letter. [redacted]

b7D

During the past period, the services of [redacted]

[redacted] Wis., who is an established source of the

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2 - Bureau (100-449698) (RM)

1 - Milwaukee (100-15657)

RES/dsw

(3)

Date Classified [redacted]
By MI 1-13-75

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Indefinite

SEARCHED

100-15657-46

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mouse Trapped

If anybody is claiming a victory for the movement from Thursday's street action, we could welcome such an analysis. It would be relieving if we could somehow justify the disorganization and even stupidity which will now pass into establishment history as "radical action."

The time and place for romantic adventure is over. The same question which haunted the movement here three years ago returns. When are large numbers of people going to organize themselves between actions? When are revolutionaries going to be capable of meeting their own needs? When is the movement going to organize street actions sensibly?

The last first. The police were mobilized Thursday unlike any action before. They had no recruiter or building to worry about. All that was necessary was to monitor an unorganized crowd and keep the trouble to a minimum. Busts could have been carried out at will, as can easily be deduced from those that were. Nobody in the crowd knew about the thirteen patrol cars sitting in the bus lane until the street people were literally trapped between two groups of patrol cars on University. There was no one with enough sense to monitor police band and pass the knowledge to the crowd. There was not even communication from one side of the crowd to the other. The list continues, ad nauseum.

Furthermore there does not exist presently a political group which appeals to a large number of radical people. Some of the problem comes from the focus of existing groups, who refuse to believe that there are self-interest issues which must be used as organizing tools. The onus of the vanguard is to show the people how capitalism and its growing imperialism not only exploit the worker, Blacks, and Third World, but also the rich middle class student and the unemployed street people. If we are incapable of destroying our own oppressors, where do we find the audacity to brag about our battle in the name of the colonies?

A critical self-examination will show that we oppose our government because life in America lacks any quality. We are strug-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

4
THE DAILY CARDINAL
UNIVERSITY OF WISC.
MADISON, WISCONSIN

Date: 2/21/70

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

DAILY CARDINAL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-15657
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

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MI ONLY

100-15657-47
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
MAR 2 1970
FBI - MILWAUKEE

ing to introduce a system which will guarantee each one of us dictatorship over our own lives. We want to create a life style which will free us from the repression which the age-old history of dominance has forced upon us. That is our self interest. There is no point in a life which is spent on one's knees in the service of the elite. Moreover, there is no need for that service if the capacities of modern technology are redeemed from the bulk of needless productivity and used to serve us. With rational use of existing technology and the rational application of research, we, for the first time in history, are in a position to free the world not only from elitist domination but also from the survival struggle that once justified that domination.

Enough dreaming. One of the first priorities for the movement must be economic independence. We must become capable of meeting our own needs. If this means something as "trivial" as setting up coops in the area to keep our money within our own community, then let us build on the basis which the Mifflin St. Coop has created. We hope the WSA store and the Madison Book Coop are only the first such organizations to come. Only then will the ideals which motivated the trashing of windows on State St. reach a level of some fulfillment.

Moreover, it is necessary to create modes for movement people to support themselves. What is accomplished by radical seniors entering after graduation into the system which they wish to destroy. Besides we War Babies are quickly discovering that we constitute a population surplus, that unemployment among youth of college age is rising. If we are incapable of creating our own jobs, where are we going to find them? And if those jobs don't exist, exactly how do we expect that the rulers of this nation are going to deal with a dangerous but unneeded number of people?

In the end history will show that it took more courage to make revolution a day to day organizing struggle than to romantically wander the streets confronting a well-equipped police force.

Best Copy Available

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Officials Seek Angela Davis in Gun Inquiry

BY PAUL HOUSTON
Times Staff Writer

Angela Davis, former UCLA philosophy instructor, was sought Wednesday for questioning about two guns registered to her name that were used in a fatal gunfight outside a San Rafael courtroom last week.

And the report that Miss Davis had purchased the guns in 1968 and 1969 appeared to damage UCLA faculty efforts to bring her back on campus to teach a noncredit course this fall.

UC Regents have voted not to renew the teaching contract of the 26-year-old black militant and avowed Communist.

Asst. State Atty. Gen. Albert W. Harris Jr. confirmed the report that a .38-caliber Browning automatic pistol and a .30-caliber Plainfield carbine used by kidnapers of a slain Superior Court judge were purchased by an Angela Davis.

But he turned aside all questions about a statement that "further investigative efforts are being made."

Marin County Dist. Atty. Bruce B. Sales said officials were looking for Miss Davis to ask her about the weapons.

Newsmen's efforts to reach her have been fruitless. A faculty colleague at UCLA said he understands she went to San Francisco about 10 days ago to aid the defense of the

"Soledad Brothers," three black inmates accused of murdering a guard at Soledad prison.

Speculation arose over what it would mean to Miss Davis legally if the two guns she bought found their way into the hands of Jonathan P. Jackson, a 17-year-old youth who carried them into the courtroom of Judge Harold J. Haley last Friday.

Jackson, a brother of accused Soledad inmate George Jackson, 28, tossed the guns to three convicts and set off a kidnaping and shooting that led to the slaying of Haley, young Jackson and two of the convicts. One of the convicts was being tried for knifing a San Quentin guard.

A criminal prosecutor said that for Miss Davis to have committed a crime, it would have to be proved she gave the weapons to Jackson for use in the attempted courtroom escape.

Act 'Not an Offense'

The mere act of giving guns without intent to commit a crime is not an offense, the prosecutor explained.

Some faculty associates of Miss Davis said that she was constantly receiving threats against her life during the controversy over whether she should be rehired.

They said she was often seen on campus accompanied by young bodyguards and she may have given them guns to protect her.

There were reports that one bodyguard was Jonathan Jackson. It is known that he and Miss Davis were riding in a car together here July 8 when she was arrested on traffic warrants.

Prof. Montgomery Furth, chairman of the UCLA philosophy department, commented:

"It seems to me entirely possible that she had these weapons, that she put them in the hands of people she thought she could trust, and they did this (at San Rafael) without her knowledge or approval."

Furth continued:

"There's a long history of wild,

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"Los Angeles Times"
Los Angeles, Calif
Part 1, page 1

b6
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Date: 8/13/70

Edition: Final

Author:

Editor:

Title: Angela Davis

Character: SM-C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

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10-15657-51

malicious and false accusations against militant black people, and in view of that it is only fair that judgment should be withheld until facts are established on which a responsible opinion can be based."

Furth, who has been heading the faculty effort to have Miss Davis appear on campus this fall, was asked what effect the guns report might have.

"I simply honestly can't say because I don't know what the facts are," Furth replied. "It seems to me extremely unlikely from my knowledge of Angela that she would engage in planning or even would condone any kind of desperate and crazy action like this."

Gary B. Nash, associate professor of history and chairman of the faculty committee raising funds to continue paying Miss Davis her salary, was not optimistic about the latest development.

"I don't see how it can help our efforts," he said. He disclosed that more than enough funds have been collected from faculty thus far to pay Miss Davis' salary through the end of the summer, and her July salary has already been paid.

Most faculty members seemed to want to hear Miss Davis' side of the story before speculating about her future at UCLA.

Arnold S. Kaufman, philosophy professor and president of the American Federation of Teachers, which supported Miss Davis in her fight to be rehired, said:

"We are not jumping to any conclusions, but it's absolutely indispensable that we have a public explanation of the circumstances concerning allegations that the guns used were hers.

"Until a full and truthful account is forthcoming, our efforts to protect her rights will be severely hampered."

In Sacramento, State Sen. H. L. Richardson (R-Arcadia) said he was responsible for tracing the two guns involved in the San Rafael shooting to Miss Davis.

He said he collected the information through his office as a state senator and his membership in the Senate subcommittee on un-American activities.

"I have multiple sources of information on subversive activities in this state that other people aren't privy to," he said.

Richardson disclosed the purchase of three guns by Miss Davis in a confidential memo he circulated to state legislators June 16, three days before Miss Davis failed to win contract renewal at UCLA.

He said he was trying to make colleagues "aware of the revolutionary nature of this woman and that she was not just a quiet teacher but a revolutionary in every sense of the word."

He added, "There's nothing wrong in owning guns. It's what you do with them."

In Los Angeles, the man who sold the Browning pistol to Miss Davis on Jan. 12, 1968, said he vaguely recalls her "wanting to buy a small gun for her own protection."

John Plimpton of the Brass Rail Gun Shop, at 1136 N. La Brea Ave., produced a pink receipt of the sale made out to Angela Yvonne Davis and signed, "Angela Y. Davis."

Copies were sent to state and local authorities for registration, he said.

By her own account, Miss Davis has been "very intensely involved in all levels of black activity" in the state.

In an interview last fall, she identified herself as a member of the Che-Lumumba Club, an all-black youth collective of the Communist Party of Southern California.

She said she had been a party member for 15 months. During that time, she added, she had gradually eased out of her activities in the Black Panthers in Los Angeles and San Diego.

Last June 18, she helped announce formation of the "Soledad Brothers Defense Committee," of which she became an active member.

A day later, UC Regents voted not to rehire her on the basis of public speeches she had made. She is challenging that decision in the courts.

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[redacted] was one of the organizers of X139-Cleaver course at Berkeley and now is with NSA--as the attached letter indicates. He wants you to speak at the convention, and would like you to call him collect. If you want a little more information than is attached, I have a little knowledge of the affair. (All your expenses would be paid.)

[redacted]

100-15657-52

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Shenker

Center for Educational Reform

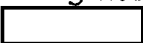
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July 5, 1970



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It was good talking with you this afternoon. I'm hopeful that our conversation will result in  attending our meeting in St. Paul. You might mention to her that NSA congress's have a long tradition of "radicalizing" delegates. There will be over 1000 student leaders present. Many (maybe most) of them were involved in Strike activities this Spring and this will be an excellent chance for them to broaden their perspectives.

I have enclosed several copies of the announcement of this year's Congress as well as single copies of several publications from NSA and its subsidiaries the Center for Educational Reform and the Educational Liberation Front.

Hope all is well with you and that the struggle isn't getting you down.

Peace and Liberation.



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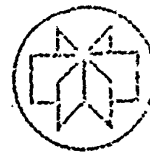
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State University of New York at Buffalo.



DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND ADMINISTRATION

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July 16, 1970

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It has been suggested to our department's Appointments Committee, of which I am a member, that we explore the possibility of offering [redacted] a joint appointment in Philosophy and Black Studies. However, it would be foolish to pursue the matter before we have some information about her plans for next year. Do you know whether she is planning to stay in California while her case is taken through the courts? Is she interested in taking another teaching job? I'd appreciate any information you can give me about her plans.

Of course I don't want to set up false hopes. A great many hurdles would have to be got over to manage such an appointment. In addition to the political problems you'd expect, there are serious budgetary difficulties. But still we'd very much like to get some information on her availability before we consider the suggestion further.

Sincerely,

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P.S.

[redacted] may have some of this information, but unfortunately he is out of town and won't be back for some time.

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[redacted]

Could we have a conversation on the
topic of the attached interesting letter, in order
to help me reply accurately and appropriately?

Thanks

[redacted]

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AUG 20 1970	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

[redacted]

105

The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53201

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

TELEPHONE 226-4719

31 July, 1970

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I write to give word on how plans for a symposium on Philosophy and Revolution have developed. [redacted] all responded affirmatively to my invitation, and found the dates May 3-5 agreeable. Herbert Marcuse just wrote me expressing strong interest, but there is a question whether he could be here at the indicated time.

I settled on the following financial arrangements for the symposium: each participant receives a flat \$100 honorarium plus expenses, calculated as round-trip coach air fare to Milwaukee plus \$10 to-and-from the airport plus \$30 a day in Milwaukee. The Center for Afro-American Culture at UWM is very eager to have you visit the campus, I might add, and I've been told informally that the Center is prepared to chip in to help defray the costs of bringing you here.

I might add, while I'm about it, that the Philosophy Department will have a vacancy beginning in September 1971, and we would be especially interested in bringing in someone strong in social philosophy. There already is competition for the spot: the young man we hired for the coming academic year, several excellent candidates we were considering this past year, and several former members of the Department here who might want to return, all have an inside track. But if you have any interest, I would warmly encourage you to apply. If you do apply, and if I have any powers of persuasion over my colleagues, we might like to bring you here to read a paper or give a lecture sometime before the Christmas break.

Sincerely,

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DRL/dd

FOIA/PA

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On 10/23/70, an opportunity to reply to the editorial broadcast of 10/8/70, was given [redacted] [redacted] which reply, in itself, is a condemnation of the New Left and revolutionary movement.

Xerox copies of the above-mentioned editorials are attached.

FBI

Date: 4/28/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)
~~INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS~~

Effective immediately, all COINTELPROS operated by this Bureau are discontinued. These include:

COINTELPRO - Espionage
COINTELPRO - New Left
COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups
COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA
Counterintelligence and Special Operations
COINTELPRO - Black Extremists
Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis.

You are reminded prior Bureau authority is required before initiating any activity of a counterintelligence nature.

2 - All Field Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

Date Classified
at 1/13/75
Classified by 456
Exempt from
Date of Declassification

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Rein Over FBI Urged by Saxbe

From Press Dispatches
Washington, D. C. — Atty. Gen. William Saxbe says he and his successors must assert their authority over the FBI to prevent a repetition of its secret counterintelligence operations against radical and extremist groups.

A government report on the FBI activities said the bureau operated the program for 15

years in an attempt to discredit radicals and extremists or hurt them economically.

Saxbe decided to make the report public after Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, tried for five months to obtain it.

Saxbe, appearing Sunday on the NBC program "Meet the Press," said no such program

was operating now, but said it was essential for attorneys general to assert authority over the FBI because this could happen again if we are not vigilant.

Targets Listed

Asked if any attorney general had been aware of the FBI program, Saxbe said, "I can't be sure. As far as direct regular reports, I don't think so."

A copy of the draft FBI report on the program, supplied to the Associated Press Saturday by columnist Jack Anderson, said it was targeted against the New Left, black extremists, the Ku Klux Klan, the Socialist Workers Party, and the US Communist Party.

The report said the program, known as Cointelpro, began in 1956 against the Communists; the last segment ended in 1971. The existence of the program was first officially confirmed by the Justice Department in December, 1973, when Saxbe, under court order, released two memorandums from the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover concerning steps against the New Left.

3,208 Proposals

The report said FBI field offices submitted 3,208 specific proposals over the years for counterintelligence activity involving domestic organizations and individuals, and 2,340 of those steps subsequently were approved and implemented.

The report was prepared at Saxbe's request by an eight member FBI and Justice Department committee headed by Asst. Atty. Gen. Henry Petersen, who plans to leave the government soon.

The FBI and some of its key officials could face millions of dollars in lawsuits as a result of the disclosure. But Justice Department officials consider it unlikely that criminal action will be taken against present or former FBI officials.

Asked about Jewish and Arab organizations within the United States, Saxbe said terrorist groups were watched but that overall surveillance of such organizations was minimal.

Black Extremists
157-459

New Left
100-15657
157-898

Also:
105-4061
100-42-55-122
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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-1
The Milwaukee Journal
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Date: 11/18/74
Edition: Latest
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Milwaukee
☐ Being Investigated

100-15657-64

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FBI-MILWAUKEE	

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Saxbe Says No To Laws That Would OK 'Tricks'

WASHINGTON (AP) — Deputy Atty. Gen. Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe Laurence Silberman said has refused to go along with an FBI request for legislation authorizing emergency "dirty tricks" against domestic political organizations. Saxbe and Kelley also

The split between Saxbe and FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley surfaced at a news conference Monday as the attorney general denounced the disruptive tactics employed in FBI counterintelligence operations for 15 years ending in 1971.

Saxbe said he has taken steps to prevent a repetition of such tactics. But he indicated that he leans against any legislation forbidding them outright.

"I don't think that you can pass laws that would completely foreclose any such activities," he said.

Instead, Saxbe urged Congress to create a joint House-Senate committee to monitor the daily operations of the FBI. "I think this is one of the greatest safeguards that we could have in this country," he asserted.

Emphasizing a different objective, Kelley asked for legislation to permit the FBI under emergency situations to do some things which counteract the effectiveness of militant groups at the extremes of the political spectrum.

Kelley has been pushing the proposal for almost a year but the Justice Department has refused to adopt it.

He cited the activities of militants in the 1960s and acknowledged that the FBI attempted to disrupt violence-prone groups. But he argued that for the circumstances would have been an abdication of its

responsibilities to the American people.

On the other hand, Saxbe and Assistant Atty. Gen. Henry E. Petersen said FBI officials may have violated the law with some of the disruptive tactics.

"This is a question that has caused us considerable concern," Saxbe said. "Mr. Petersen does not believe that there were prosecutable offenses committed."

But he said the matter has been referred to the department's civil rights division to determine whether there were criminal violations of individual rights.

"If we missed something, we certainly are not closing the door to criminal prosecutions," he continued.

The department disclosed for the first time the full list of counterintelligence targets. They included such moderate civil rights groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as well as the more militant Black Panthers, Weathermen and Students for a Democratic Society.

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COINTELCARD
105-4061
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COINTELCARD
NEW LEFT
100-15657
157-898
BLACK EXTREMISTS
157-459

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: Milwaukee

☐ Being Investigated

100-15657-65

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

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